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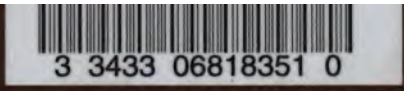
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THE

General Prevalence

OF THE

WORSHIP

OF

HUMAN SPIRITS,

IN THE

ANTIENT HEATHEN NATIONS,

ASSERTED AND PROVED.

By HUGH FARMER.

They changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible MAN. Rom. i. 23.

Quinimo non *omnes*, quos jam templis habetis veſtris, mortalium ſuſtuliſtis ex numero, et cœlo ſideribuſque donâſtis? *Arnobius, adv. Gentes, p.* 21.

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M.DCC.LXXXIII.

THE

INTRODUCTION.

IT may, at firſt view, ſeem to be a matter of no concern to Chriſtians, in the preſent age, what the heathen gods were; whether the objects of nature, or human ſpirits, or both; and, if both, whether they were worſhipped ſo early as the days of Moſes. Equally unintereſting may it appear, whether idolatry underwent any change in the long interval between Moſes and the Meſſiah. Nevertheleſs, a few reflections may ſerve to convince us, that a critical knowledge of theſe ſubjects may anſwer many valuable purpoſes.

1. It is evidently neceſſary to impreſs us with a due ſenſe of the high importance of the Jewiſh and Chriſtian diſpenſations. One great deſign of both theſe diſpenſations was, the cure of idolatry. But, if we are not ſenſible how great an evil the ancient idolatry was, how diſhonourable to the majeſty of heaven, and how injurious both to the virtue and happineſs of mankind, we cannot poſſibly ſet a juſt value upon our deliverance from it. In order to eſtimate this aright, we muſt know what the objects, and alſo what the rites, of heathen worſhip, were; what immoral actions are aſcribed to the former; what follies, pollutions, and cruelties, conſtituted the latter. Examine the religion of Egypt and Phenicia, in the days of Moſes, and you will be ſenſible that even the Jewiſh diſpenſation, inferior as it is to the Chriſtian, and though principally deſigned as a preparation for it, was, nevertheleſs, in itſelf, an ineſtimable bleſſing, by directing all religious worſhip to the only proper

per object of it, the one true God, the omnipotent Creator and righteous Governor of the whole world; and, by eſtabliſhing a ritual, that was chaſte, inſtructive, and, to a people ſo diſpoſed and circumſtanced as the Iſraelites were, neceſſary to preſerve them from idolatry. Thoſe, who are unhappily prejudiced againſt divine revelation, endeavour, in order to depreciate it, to keep out of ſight the odious parts of the pagan religion, and are even laviſh in its praiſe. This makes it the more neceſſary, that Chriſtians, with an honeſt diſdain of all partiality, ſhould inform themſelves what it really was.

2. An accurate knowledge of the heathen idolatry ſerves to manifeſt the peculiar propriety of thoſe extraordinary means, which were employed to accompliſh our deliverance from it, and to introduce and eſtabliſh the religions of Moſes and the Meſſiah. If the heathen gods were no other than the objects of nature, and ſuch human ſpirits as were ſuppoſed to preſide over them, then the

miracles, by which the miſſions of the old and new Teſtament prophets were confirmed, were the moſt proper that could be choſen; becauſe they were ſamples of that abſolute dominion over nature[a], which Jehovah challenged as his peculiar prerogative; and, conſequently, a full confutation of all the claims of fictitious deities.

3. The miracles of the old Teſtament were deſigned not merely for the confutation, but alſo, in ſome caſes, for the puniſhment, of idolatry. If this falſe worſhip was, what ſome repreſent it, merely a ſpeculative and innocent error, it will be difficult to vindicate the diſpleaſure of God againſt it. But we know that it conſiſted in the practice of the very worſt crimes; ſuch as inceſt*, ſodomy†, beſtiality§,

[a] This ſubject is well illuſtrated by Dr. H. Owen, in his ſermons at Mr. Boyle's lecture.

* Compare Levit. xviii. and ch. xx. 19.

† Patrick on 1 Kings, xiv. 24.

§ In Egypt, Strabo, l. 17, p. 1154. Herodot. l. 2, c. 46. Ælian. Animal. c. 19. In Canaan, Levit. xviii. 24.

an

and every poſſible ſpecies of impurity; in the murder alſo of innocent children, and various other cruelties. *Every abomination to Jehovah which he hateth**, that is, all thoſe things which are moſt oppoſite to the rectitude of the divine nature, were rites of idolatrous worſhip, or *what they did unto their gods.* Such crimes as theſe are condemned by the light of reaſon, and were puniſhed by the civil magiſtrate, except when they were preſcribed by religion; which vindicates the juſtice, and demonſtrates the neceſſity, of thoſe ſevere methods, uſed to reſtrain the idolatry of Egypt and Canaan.

4. Juſt ideas of the antient idolatry will enable us to diſcover a farther reaſon for the puniſhment of it: I mean only when the unerring Judge of the world takes the work into his own hands, or immediately and by undeniable miracles commiſſions others to act as the miniſters of his juſtice. As the rites of idolatry conſiſted in the indulgence of ſenſual and other criminal paſſions, ſo the gods them-

* Deut. xii. 31.

ſelves were examples[b] of the crimes practiſed in their worſhip. Now, whenever vice comes to be conſidered as a divine quality as well as an act of devotion, or, in other words, when it is practiſed both in honour, and in imitation, of the gods, it is hereby authoriſed and ſanctified; and men muſt ſink into the loweſt degeneracy. Their very underſtandings as well as their hearts muſt be ſo depraved, that no other evidence or arguments can produce a powerful and feeling conviction of the purity of the divine Being, and of his abhorrence of idolatry with its attendant vices, but immediate and miraculous diſplays of his juſtice in its puniſhment. If the judgements of the Almighty upon it, in the days of Moſes and Joſhua, did not reclaim the moſt hardened offenders, they ſerved as uſeful warnings to others.

[b] Concerning the ſhocking immoralities of the gods, ſee below, p. 281. and Lucian, v. 1. p. 326. ed. Amſtel. Their vices are ſo well known, that they need not be enumerated; and many of them were too groſs to be mentioned. Calumny itſelf could not aſperſe the heathen gods more than their own votaries have done. Their example was often pleaded in juſtification of the worſt crimes.

5. Idol-

5. Idolatry, however, was not the means of moral corruption equally in all countries. Human ſacrifices[c], for example, and, perhaps, ſome other flagitious rites of idolatry[d], were not ſo common in Egypt as in Canaan. And this difference accounts for the different dealings of God with thoſe nations. The impiety of Egypt, a country enlightened by ſcience[e], even in the days of Moſes, and its cruel oppreſſion of the Iſraelites, deſerved very ſevere chaſtiſement; eſpecially, after an obſtinate reſiſtance of the moſt awakening and powerful means of con-

[c] Notwithſtanding what Herodotus (l. 2. c. 45.) has offered to the contrary, the Egyptians did ſometimes (though not often) ſtain their altars with human blood. See Euſebius, l. 4. c. 16. Porphyry de Abſtinent. l. 2. §. 55. Theodoret, Serm. vii. p. 589. But this horrid rite of idolatry was very frequently practiſed by the Canaanites, and with circumſtances of ſingular barbarity; as appears from the hiſtory of their deſcendents at Carthage. Few are ſtrangers to the account given of their cruel ſacrifices by Diodorus Siculus, Euſebius, and other writers. It is abridged by Mr. Bryant, in his *Obſervations*, p. 278 et ſeq.

[d] Herodotus tells us, that the Egyptians were the firſt who would not allow the uſe of women in their temples. L. 2. c. 64. [e] Acts vii. 22.

viction.

viction. But the Canaanites, beſides reſiſting the ſame, and even additional evidence, were ſunk into a deeper corruption; and were, for this reaſon[f], diſpoſſeſſed and deſtroyed. Many nations, and the Jews in particular, have, in the courſe of God's common providence, ſuffered an almoſt total extirpation. But never did any people more deſerve ſuch an awful ſtroke of juſtice than the Canaanites. Nor was this more an act of juſtice than of mercy to a people ſo reſolutely bent upon their own deſtruction.

6. A knowledge of the heathen deities is neceſſary to juſtify the cenſure paſſed upon them by the prophets of God, and to vindicate the proofs of their own divine authority. In the Engliſh tranſlation of the bible[g], and in the writings of moſt Chriſtians, the pagan deities are repreſented as *devils*; and devils have been

[f] The cruelty and pollutions of their worſhip are expreſſly aſſigned as the ground of their puniſhment. Levit. xviii. 24, 25. Deut. xii. 31.

[g] Levit. xvii. 7. Deut. xxxvii. 17. 2 Chron. xi. 15. Pſ. cvi. 37. 1 Cor. x. 20, 21.

generally

generally thought to have very great power over the *natural* world, and to be able to perform *real*, or (which, in effect, is the ſame thing) *ſeeming*, miracles. Now, if the heathen gods have ſuch extenſive power, why does the ſcripture ſo often reproach them with utter impotence? To ſuppoſe, with a late writer[h], that they are ſaid to be *nothing* in the ſcriptures *only as gods*, is to pervert the obvious meaning, and even (unintentionally) to aſperſe the character of the prophets of God. The heathens aſcribed, to the objects of their worſhip, prophecies and miracles, and the power of doing both good and evil to mankind; and on this ground aſſerted their divinity. On the other hand, the prophets of God declare they had no ſuch power, no more than their ſenſeleſs images; and hence concluded that they were not gods; nay, they even allow that, in caſe they had the powers aſcribed to them by their votaries, they would be entitled to the worſhip of

[h] Fell, Demoniacs, p. 60, ſee alſo p. 57. Some pretend that devils perſonated the heathen gods: a point that is examined in Diſſert. on Mir. p. 240–247.

mankind.

mankind. *Shew us things for to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are gods; yea, do good or do evil, that we may be diſmayed*, or "*then ſhall be ſtruck at once with admiration and terror*[1]." *But, behold, ye are leſs than nothing, and your operation is leſs than nought* *. Let us ſuppoſe that the heathen gods had accepted this challenge, foretold future events, and done both good and evil to mankind, or either; their votaries might have replied to the prophet, "Our gods have actually exerted, and therefore certainly poſſeſs, the powers and prerogatives we aſcribe to them, and which you deny them. Moſt falſely therefore do you affirm, that they† and their operations are *nothing*, *and leſs than nothing*. They have given you the very proofs you required of their being *gods*; and therefore, upon your own principles, you ought now to acknowledge them under this character. To pretend, after the point is decided, that all you meant was, that

[1] Iſ. xli. 23. Bp. Lowth in loc. * V. 24. Id.

† Compare Jerem. xxxi. 15. cited below, p. xxxiii.

"they

" they are *nothing only as gods*, is mere pre-
" varication; it is flying from your own
" propoſal, and rejecting the evidence of
" their divinity you declared you would
" admit." If the Scripture teaches any thing with clearneſs and certainty, it is this; that the heathen gods are abſolutely incapable of interpoſing at all in human affairs[k]. And the truth of this repreſentation will be allowed by ſuch as know that thoſe gods were no other than either the objects of nature or deified men; the former, being merely the paſſive inſtruments of providence, and the latter having no intercourſe with this lower world[l]. If any of the rivals of the true God can perform or imitate real miracles, how can we vindicate the uſe which the Scripture makes of theſe works, as immediate divine atteſtations to the miſſion and doctrine of a prophet?

7. A right underſtanding of the change idolatry underwent, in the inter-

[k] See Differt. on Mir. p. 233-239.
[l] Id. p. 161, et ſeq.

val

val between Moſes and the Meſſiah, ſerves to ſhew how perfectly both their inſtitutions correſponded to the difference, in the religious ſtate of the world, in their reſpective times.

Polytheiſm was originally founded in a falſe perſuaſion of the divinity of nature and its conſtituent parts; more particularly of the ſun, moon, and ſtars. This opinion was generally received in the early ages of the world, and had certainly taken faſt hold of the minds of men in the age of Moſes. At this period, therefore, it pleaſed God to diſplay his own ſovereign dominion over nature, over all the elements, and the heavenly bodies; and to make nature herſelf, and all her powers, the inſtruments of puniſhing thoſe, who had ſet them up as gods, in oppoſition to himſelf. Hereby he afforded the world the moſt *ſeaſonable* as well as ſtriking confutation of the claims of thoſe gods, and demonſtration of his own character, as ſole monarch of the univerſe. He might have

delivered

delivered his people from the bondage of Egypt, and put them into the poſſeſſion of Canaan, by other methods; but he choſe to do it at ſuch a time, and in ſuch a manner, as would convey the moſt ſuitable and neceſſary inſtruction. And it was doubtleſs with the view of conveying this inſtruction, and manifeſting himſelf to mankind at this period by the miracles he performed in Egypt and Canaan, that he, to whom all his works are known from the beginning, placed the Iſraelites in ſuch circumſtances, and gave them ſuch promiſes, as would naturally call for theſe miracles.

In the long interval between Moſes and the Meſſiah, idolatry ſeems to have undergone a conſiderable change; not indeed in it's outward form and appearance, but in the opinion entertained of the gods. When a ſpirit of enquiry began to prevail in the civilized nations, the divinity of nature was called in queſtion. Even the ſun, moon, and ſtars, were conſidered, by many of the Greek philoſophers, as inanimate ſubſtances, long before the commencement

commencement of the Chriſtian æra, Cotta, who lived near it, diſtinguiſhes between the gods and the objects of nature, which had been confounded together[m]. And Plutarch, who lived ſomewhat later, argues largely againſt thoſe, who gave the names of gods to things that had neither ſenſe nor ſoul[n]. The doctrine of the divinity of nature had loſt conſiderable ground in the time of Chriſt; not merely through the improvement of ſcience, but alſo through the influence of another cauſe, viz. the learned nations having made human ſpirits the more immediate objects of their eſtabliſhed worſhip from the early ages of the world. Beſides, many eminent philoſophers, and Plato in particular, had taught ſeveral centuries

[m] Cotta objects againſt the Eleuſinian and other myſteries, "that, being explained, and reduced to the ſtandard of reaſon, we were made acquainted rather with "*the nature of things* than with *the gods*." Quibus explicatis, ad rationemque revocatis, rerum magis natura cognoſcitur quam deorum. Ap. Cicer. Nat. Deor. l. 1. c. 42.

[n] Plutarch. Iſ. & Oſir. p. 377.

before

before the coming of Chriſt, that all intercourſe, between the celeſtial gods and men on earth, was carried on by the mediation of demons, who, on that account, were to be worſhipped and invoked. This doctrine was in ſuch high reputation, when the Goſpel was firſt publiſhed, that it was generally received by the devout Pagans, and even by many learned Jews, who aſcribed to angels (that is, to ſuch human ſpirits as, in their opinion, became angels°) the ſame offices which the Heathens did to demons†.

In theſe circumſtances there was a peculiar propriety in affording the world full evidence, that, as there is but one God, one univerſal ſovereign of nature, (as Moſes had amply demonſtrated,) ſo there is but one Lord*, even Jeſus Chriſt, who has all power given unto him both in heaven and on earth; to whom angels, principalities, and powers, ſpirits of every rank and order, are

° Diſſert. on Mir. p. 181. † Whitby on Coloſſ. ii. 18.
* 1 Cor. viii. 4, 5, 6. 1 Tim. ii. 5.

made ſubject; and who is the only mediator between God and man, the only perſon appointed to convey divine bleſſings to us, and in whoſe name alone we are to preſent our addreſſes to God. Chriſt eſtabliſhed his claim to be Lord of mankind, without any rival, by the exerciſe of a miraculous power over their bodies and minds, by riſing from the dead to take poſſeſſion of his univerſal kingdom; and by diſpenſing divine gifts to his followers. Hereby he diſgraced all the vain pretences of the heathen demons, who remained under the power of death, and had never given proof of their having any dominion over the human race.

8. The perfect correſpondence of the different inſtitutions of Moſes and the Meſſiah to the ſtate of the world, at the reſpective times of their being introduced, may be farther illuſtrated on another important article, that of a future ſtate.

The want of explicit information concerning this ſtate, in the religion of Moſes, has been often urged as an objection againſt it; to which a knowledge of

of the heathen idolatry will enable us to return a ſatisfactory anſwer, though it has, I apprehend, been hitherto overlooked. The worſhip of the dead neceſſarily implied a belief of the immortality of the ſoul[p]. Now this ſpecies of idolatry ſprang up in Egypt and Phenicia, before the time of Moſes, and was even practiſed by the Iſraelites in the wilderneſs, as will be ſhewn hereafter. Conſequently, the principle, upon which this practice was founded, muſt have been received by them in the days of the Jewiſh legiſlator. In theſe circumſtances, could it be neceſſary to inculcate upon the Iſraelites the doctrine of the immortality of the ſoul, which they had already imbibed and greatly perverted?

It was much more becoming the wiſdom of God, becauſe more for the benefit of men, to rectify their miſtakes concerning it. With this view, the Iſrael-

[p] "The law, which commands thoſe conſecrated from "amongſt men to be worſhipped, ſhews that the ſouls of "all are immortal." Cicero, cited in the following ſheets, together with others who hold the ſame language. P. 303, 304.

ites were inſtructed, that death was not, in itſelf, the bleſſing they imagined, but was the penalty of man's diſobedience, and a ſtanding monument of God's diſpleaſure againſt it; that it reduced to duſt all of man that was taken from the duſt, that is, his corporeal frame; and, conſequently, that, inſtead of advancing him to divine dominion over the world, it deſtroyed all his communication with it, which was maintained only by means of his bodily organs. At the ſame time the Iſraelites were farther informed, that it was God's good pleaſure to redeem mankind from the power of death, at a future period, by that diſtinguiſhed perſonage whom he ſhould appoint, and who was to be, in a peculiar manner, *the ſeed of the woman*. Thus, while Moſes laid a foundation for faith in God and the hope of redemption, and warned men againſt expecting this ineſtimable bleſſing in a courſe of diſobedience, he ſubverted the very foundation of the worſhip paid to the dead.

In

In like manner, the account, which Moſes has given of God's creating the world by his almighty fiat, is calculated to deſtroy that other ſpecies of idolatry, the worſhip of the heavenly bodies. The doctrine of the Jewiſh prophet on both theſe points, beſides it's general uſe, has the farther recommendation of a peculiar propriety, when conſidered in its relation and ſubſerviency to that ſyſtem of religion, which he was appointed to eſtabliſh upon the ruins of all polytheiſm and idolatry.

Though the immortality of the ſoul was the univerſal creed in the age of Moſes, the caſe was far otherwiſe in the days of Chriſt. Many then taught, that the ſoul of man periſhes with his body, and, conſequently, that there would be no reſurrection of the dead, nor ſtate of future retribution. God, therefore, who from the beginning had determined to accompliſh the redemption of man by Jeſus Chriſt, and by him to put the righteous into the poſſeſſion of that kingdom prepa-

red for them before the foundation of the world, was pleaſed to ſend him into the world at this period, to publiſh the doctrine of eternal life, and to aſſert his own divine commiſſion to diſpenſe this bleſſing. And what more proper evidence of both could there be, than his raiſing others to life, and his own reſurrection and exaltation, as the reward of his obedient and benevolent death? This was a demonſtration, adapted to every capacity, of the poſſibility and certainty of our reſurrection and of a ſtate of future retribution. The *method* of our redemption from death by Jeſus Chriſt is no doubt the voluntary appointment of God, and undiſcoverable by reaſon; nevertheleſs, ſo far is it from overturning, that it illuſtrates and confirms, the natural proofs of a future ſtate, drawn from the moral perfections of the Deity, and at the ſame time removes every preſumption againſt it, ariſing from the deſtruction of our preſent corporeal frame. The publication of this doctrine of life and immortality was never more neceſſary than in the time of Chriſt; and

this

this was one reaſon amongſt many others for his coming at that particular period.

9. A knowledge of the ancient idolatry is, in many caſes, highly neceſſary to explain the *language* of antiquity. Opinions have a neceſſary influence upon language; and we are very liable to miſtake the latter, while we are ignorant of the former. I will illuſtrate this article, as I did the laſt, by examples relative to a future ſtate, which is ſo intimately connected with the ſubject of the following ſheets.

It has be en ſaid, that, according to Herodotus[q], the Egyptians were the firſt who aſſerted the immortality of the ſoul of man. Hence, ſome have been forward to conclude, that, in more ancient times, mankind believed that the ſoul periſhed

[q] Herodot. l. 2. c. 123. Πρωτοι δε και τοιδε τον λογον Αιγυπτιοι εισι ειποντες, ως ανθρωπε ψυχη αθανατος εστι· τε σωματος δε καταφθινοντος, ες αλλο ζωον αιει γινομενον εσδυεται· επειαν δε περιελθη παντα τα χερσαια, και τα θαλασσια, και τα πετεινα, αυτις ες ανθρωπε σωμα γινομενον εσδυνειν· την περιηλυσιν δε αυτη γινεσθαι εν τρισχιλιοισι ετεσι.

with the body. But the meaning of Herodotus is miſtaken. This hiſtorian, having pointed out a remarkable difference between the Greeks and Egyptians, in that the latter aſſigned to Ceres and Bacchus the ſovereignty over the ſhades below[7], or over the region of the dead; adds, that they alſo were the firſt who taught this doctrine concerning the immortality of the human ſoul, viz. that, upon the death of the body, it paſſed into another animal, till, after having in the ſpace of three thouſand years animated every ſpecies of living creatures in the air, upon the earth, and in the ſea, it returns again into a human body. He farther informs us, that ſeveral Grecians claimed this doctrine as their own invention. According to Maximus Tyrius[8], Pythagoras was the firſt who had courage to broach it in Greece, grounding it upon

[7] Των κατω.

[8] Diſſert. xxviii. p. 286 ed. Daviſ. Πυθαγορας δε ο Σαμιος πρωτος εν τοις Ελλησιν ετολμησεν ειπειν οτι αυτο το μεν σωμα τεθνηξεται, η δε ψυχη αναπτασα οιχησεται αθανης και αγηρως· και γαρ ειναι αυτην πριν ηκειν δευρο.

the

the pre-exiſtence of the ſoul. From this account it appears, that the doctrine of the ſubſiſtence of ſeparate ſouls in a ſubterraneous region was received by the Egyptians before that of their tranſmigration; and that the latter was an innovation, which was not reliſhed by the Greeks when it was firſt publiſhed. Indeed, long before the time of the Samian philoſopher, the Greeks worſhipped their heroes, and conſequently believed the immortality of the ſoul. And, amongſt the Egyptians, the doctrine of its migration from a human to a brutal body muſt have been later than the worſhip of their ancient kings, who were thought to be tranſlated immediately from earth to heaven. But it is impoſſible that the opinion of the everlaſting duration of the ſoul ſhould only be co-eval with that of it's tranſmigration: for the latter neceſſarily preſuppoſes a belief of the diſtinction between ſoul and body, and the permanence of the former, after the diſſolution of the latter. If the ſoul periſhed with

with the firſt body, it could not enter a ſecond[t].

What I principally propoſed under this head was, to ſhew how far a knowledge of the antiquity of the worſhip of dead men may enable us to fix the meaning of the word *death* in the threatening denounced againſt Adam[u]. If human ſpirits were worſhipped (as it will be ſhewn they

[t] Some have pleaded that the belief of a future ſtate took it's riſe from the funeral rites of the Egyptians, deſcribed by Diodorus Siculus*. It may be granted, that the fictions of the Greeks concerning the ferryman Charon, the river over which he was to carry the dead, the infernal judges, and Elyſian fields, were borrowed from the cuſtoms of Egypt at the burial of their kings. But this was only *an illuſtration* or *deſcription* of a future ſtate, and was ſo far from giving riſe to, that it manifeſtly preſuppoſes, the belief of ſome ſuch ſtate amongſt the Greeks. Beſides, the Egyptian cuſtom of ſitting in judgement upon their dead kings could not be ſo ancient as that of deifying them; for it is ſcarce to be ſuppoſed, that they would uſe ſuch freedom with the objects of their worſhip. Indeed the very reaſon of burying their kings in pleaſant meadows was a prior perſuaſion that after death the ſoul did often inhabit, at leaſt for a time, the place where the body was depoſited.

* Lib. 1. p. 102, 103, 107, 108. Ed. Weſſ.

[u] Gen. ii. 17.

were)

were) in the age of Moſes, particularly in Egypt and Phenicia, then the word *death* could not, at that time, and in thoſe countries, denote more than the deſtruction of the bodily life: for, had this term farther included in it the inſenſibility or extinction of the ſoul, the dead would not have been honoured as gods. And, had Moſes uſed it in this extenſive ſenſe, he would (as he well knew) have been miſunderſtood by the Egyptians, who aſſerted the immortality of the ſoul[w], and by the Hebrews, who dwelt amongſt them, and had adopted their ſyſtem of religion. He did not, however, in order to prevent their miſtaking him, give notice of his uſing the word in a new and ſingular ſenſe; and, therefore, he deſigned to expreſs by it, what they did, the deſtruction of the body only. As this is a point on which

[w] It appears from Herodotus that this principle was holden in very ancient times by the Egyptians, but their worſhip demonſtrates that they held it before the time of Moſes.

great

ther[a]. The ſacred writers entertained the ſame opinion, ſuppoſed the ſouls of the dead to exiſt in *ſheol* or *hades*[b], and that, in the diſtribution of them, regard was had to the former relation in which they ſtood to one another[c]. It is in manifeſt alluſion to this opinion, that the ſacred

[a] Homer. Odyſſ. xi. paſſim. The ghoſts of Achilles and his friend Patroclus were in company together, ib. v. 466, 467. Lucian ſpeaks of the dead as divided κατα τα ἐθνη και φυλα. Necuomanteia, v. i. p. 334.

[b] The references in Scripture to the abode of the ſouls of the dead are exceeding numerous. Many of them are taken notice of in *Eſſay on the Demoniacs*, p. 211 et ſeq. and below in note [c]. In Job, ch. xxvi. 5, it is ſaid in the original, *The giants* (probably the ghoſts of thoſe who periſhed in the flood) *tremble under the waters, together with their fellow inhabitants.* This verſion, which was given in the *Eſſay*, (ubi ſupra,) has ſince been confirmed by the higheſt authority, ſo far, I mean, as ſerves my purpoſe in this place:

The mighty dead tremble from beneath:
The waters, and they that dwell therein.

Bp Lowth's Iſaiah, Prelim. Diſſert. p. xv.

[c] To this diſtribution there is a reference in Ezek. xxxii. 22. and alſo in thoſe words aſcribed to Samuel, 1 Sam. xxviii. 19. *Tomorrow ſhalt thou* (Saul) *and thy ſons be with me*, that is, in *ſheol*, or common receptacle of the dead. I cannot forbear obſerving here, that there

ſacred writers deſcribe the dead as *being gathered to their people*, and that Jacob, under the diſtreſſing apprehenſion of the death of Joſeph, ſaid, *I will go down into ſheol unto my ſon*[d]. When Jacob uttered theſe words, he believed that Joſeph had been devoured by wild beaſts; and therefore, by *ſheol*, he could not mean the *grave*, but *the receptacle of the dead*. As this language is recorded by Moſes, he muſt know that the patriarchs did not

there was a ſtriking reſemblance in many particulars between the *ſheol* of the Hebrews and the *hades* of the Greeks. Under the general term *ſheol* the Hebrews included both *paradiſe* and *gehenna*, as the Greeks did *elyſium* and *tartarus* under hades. If the Greeks ſuppoſed the manſion of the dead to be ſubterraneous, ſo did the Hebrews: for what is ſaid, 1 Sam. xxviii. 14. of Samuel's *aſcending*, that is, from the earth, was certainly ſpoken agreeably to the prevailing opinion of thoſe times. Amongſt the Greeks, ſouls, though they exiſted in hades, were thought to be ignorant of what paſſed in the world. According to Homer, Odyſſ. l. xi. v. 456. et ſeq. the phantom of Agamemnon deſired to be informed by Ulyſſes where his ſon reigned. As to the Hebrews, their notion of the dead was the ſame. Iſ. lxiii. 16. In the Scriptures as well as in other writings, the receptacle of the dead is figuratively deſcribed as a houſe with its *gates* and *keys*. Job xxxviii. 17. Rev. xviii.

[d] Gen. xxxvii. 35.

conceive

conceive death to import the utter extinction of the ſoul, and therefore, would not affix this meaning to it himſelf. Nay,

Thirdly, we know, with certainty, that this prophet himſelf believed the ſeparate ſubſiſtence of the ſoul, and has even given it a divine ſanction: for he repreſents God, as making this promiſe to Abraham, *Thou ſhalt go to thy fathers in peace*[e]. Was it poſſible for him, then, to maintain the oppoſite opinion?

Fourthly, none of the ſacred writers do ever deſcribe death in terms different from thoſe uſed by perſons, who certainly acknowledged the continuance of the ſoul after it. If we read in the Pſalms[f], that *the dead (rephaim, the ghoſts) praiſe not God*, the ſon of Sirach[g] affirms the ſame thing, at a time when it is allowed that the Jews did believe the ſoul to be immortal. In Scripture, I acknowledge, death is deſcribed by *ſleep*;

[e] Gen. xv. 15. [f] Pſ. lxxxviii. 10.
[g] Eccleſiaſticus xvii. 28.

but

but not to plead that ſleep is not a ſtate of non-exiſtence, but of *reſt*, it is well known that this ſoft image of death was commonly uſed to expreſs the thing itſelf by thoſe who aſſerted the exiſtence of ſouls in hades[h]. Other terms by which the ſtate of the dead is deſcribed, ſuch as *ſilence*, *oblivion*, *darkneſs*, and *corruption*, refer only to the body, or to the ſuppoſed ſtate of the ſoul while it was in *ſheol*, and are not peculiar to the ſacred writers, but were common in all countries[i], where both the popular belief and the eſtabliſhed worſhip were inconſiſtent with the notion of the ſoul's periſhing with the body. That ſtrong expreſſion of Rachel upon the death of her children, they *are not*[k], no more imports the non-exiſtence of their ſouls than of the materials of their bodies; and means no more than that they were as totally loſt to her and to this world as if they had no exiſtence at all. The

[h] See Homer, Iliad II. 454.

[i] See Windet de vita functorum ſtatu, ſect. 2. p. 11. et ſeq.

[k] Jerem. xxxi. 15.

foregoing deſcriptions of death eaſily may, and neceſſarily muſt, be underſtood in a ſenſe conſiſtent with that univerſal creed of the ancients, and particularly of the ſacred writers, that the ſoul remains after the body is deſtroyed. This interpretation will appear ſtill more reaſonable and neceſſary, when we conſider that many of the terms, by which death was deſcribed in all countries, do clearly imply, and are built upon, a belief of the diſtinction between ſoul and body, and of their being ſeparated at death. As, according to the Greeks, to *die* was *to depart*[l], *to go away*[m]; ſo the writers of the New Teſtament deſcribe death by a *departure*[n], that is, of the ſoul from the body to another ſtate. In this *departure*, therefore, they muſt have thought death to conſiſt: and conſequently the great Jewiſh prophet had the ſame idea of it. It muſt be obſerved,

[l] Ἀναχωρεῖσθαι.

[m] Οἴχεσθαι.

[n] Ἔξοδος, Luke ix. 31. See Grotius, Whitby, and Wetſtein, on this place.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, that the foregoing explication of death will be greatly confirmed by conſidering the meaning of *life* as oppoſed to it. Thoſe, I apprehend, whoſe departed ſpirits exiſted in *ſheol*, were not repreſented as being *alive*, or as *living*, except in reſpect to the purpoſe of God to reſtore them to life. But, when their ſouls were removed from *ſheol* or *hades*, and united a ſecond time to a human body, then they were ſaid to *live* again; being now reſtored to a life ſimilar to what they had loſt. This appears from the writings both of the Heathens and of the Jews. Amongſt the Celts, ſays Diodorus Siculus, the doctrine of Pythagoras prevails; who held that the ſouls of men are immortal, that they paſs into other bodies, and, after a certain determinate time, *live again*[*]. This refers to the period ſpoken of by Herodotus, after which ſouls returned

[*] Ενισχυει παρ' αυτοις ο Πυθαγορου λογος, οτι τας ψυχας των ανθρωπων αθανατους ειναι συμβεβηκε, και δι' ετων ωρισμενων παλιν βιων, εις ετερον σωματος ψυχης εισδυομενης. Diod. Sic. l. v. p. 352. Weſſ.

to *human* bodies. The grand *Lama* was ſaid to die only in appearance; becauſe he was ſuppoſed to be born in a new human body, in the very inſtant he quitted the old one[p].

It is of more importance ſtill to examine the language and ſentiments of the *Jews* on this ſubject. It is commonly allowed that the Jews, from the time of their return from Babylon[q], aſſerted the ſeparate exiſtence of the ſoul after death. This was the opinion not only of a few eminent individuals, ſuch as Philo, but of thoſe learned ſects amongſt them, the Eſſenes[r] and Phariſees[s], and of the whole body

[p] Above, p. 126.

[q] That they *always* held this principle appears from their imitation of the heathen idolatry, from their evocation of the dead, and from the early references in Scripture to the receptacle of departed ſouls, and many other proofs.

[r] Joſeph. Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 8. §. 11. Εχρωται παρ' αυτοις ηδε η δοξα, —— τας ψυχας αθανατους αει διαμενειν.

[s] They believed that the ſoul was immortal; αθανατον ισχυν ταις ψυχαις πιστις αυτοις ειναι; and that the ſouls of good men had (ρασωνην τυ αναβιων) power to *revive* or *live again*.

body of the people[t], almoſt without exception[u], in the time of our Saviour. To this principle the Phariſees (the moſt numerous ſect amongſt the Jews, and whoſe doctrine formed the popular creed) added another, viz. the reſurrection of the dead[w]. Theſe two principles were thought to be cloſely connected. The Sadducees believed the extinction of the ſoul at death, and did not admit the reſurrection: the Phariſees, on the other hand, admitted the latter and denied the former. I cannot find a ſingle example, before the time of Chriſt,

again. Joſeph Antiq. l. 18. c. 1. §. 3. The ſame hiſtorian, in his Bel. Jud. l. 2. c. 8. §. 14. confirms the above account of them: they believed that every ſoul was *incorruptible*; but that *the ſoul of the good alone went into another body*; μεταβαινειν εις ετερον σωμα την των αγαθων μονην.

[t] The people followed the Phariſees.

[u] The Sadducees were the only exception. They taught that the ſoul periſhed with the body. Σαδδυκαιοις δε τας ψυχας ο λογος συναφανιζει τοις σωμασι. Joſeph. Antiq. l. 18. c. 1. §. 4. Ψυχης τε την διαμονην——αναιρεσις. B. IX. l. 2. c. 8. §. 14. Act. xxiii.

[w] See above, note [s], and Acts xxiii. 8. The Jews in general agreed with the Phariſees in maintaining a reſurrection. Acts xxiv. 15.

of a perſon, who believed the reſurrection of the dead, that did not at the ſame time allow the permanence of the ſoul after death. The Jews expreſſed the reſurrection by the terms, *reviviſcence, living again*, that is, a return to the ſame kind of life as their former one. This appears from a paſſage already cited[x], and may be confirmed by many others. *The king of the world ſhall raiſe us up unto everlaſting life*, ſaid one of the ſeven children ſpoken of in the book of Maccabees[y]; which is equivalent to that language of their mother, *God will give you life and breath again*[z]. She alſo applies to them thoſe words of God, *I kill*, and *I make alive*. Thoſe who died for the law were encouraged to expect a *reviviſcence*[a].

The queſtion here is, what is meant by this reviviſcence, or return to life, by which the reſurrection is deſ-

[x] See above, note [s].

[y] 2 Maccab. vii. 9.

[z] Ib. v. 22.

[a] Παλιγγενεσια. Joſephus, de Maccab. p. 1101, E. F. ap. Whitby on Mat. xxii. 30, p. 191.

cribed ?

cribed? Did the Jews hereby mean creating anew the ſoul that had been deſtroyed? If this be a thing poſſible in it's nature, it could not poſſibly be their meaning; becauſe they did not allow that the former ſoul periſhed at death. Did they believe that man had no ſoul, and therefore that his reſurrection conſiſted in the re-organization of his former body or in furniſhing him with a new body, organized as that was? This is a flat contradiction to their belief of the diſtinction between ſoul and body, and the ſeparate exiſtence of the former. What then did they or could they mean by the reſurrection to life, but the reſtoration of that kind of life which they had loſt, by the reunion of their ſouls to a human body, either the very ſame that they had before, or one in effect the ſame? In virtue of this re-union, the *dead* man became a *living* man, the ſame as he was before he died, with the ſame conſciouſneſs and recollection, the principle of conſciouſneſs having never periſhed.

Hence they ſpeak of the martyrs as being *received, dying*[b], by Abraham; and repreſent the ſouls of the righteous in the intermediate ſtate as being *in the hand of God, and having hopes full of immortality*[c], or of a reſurrection to eternal life. Farther to confirm the preceding account of a reſurrection and reviviſcence, I muſt obſerve that Joſephus, who on all occaſions aſſerted the ſeparate exiſtence of the ſoul[d], has himſelf explained theſe terms by the return of the ſoul of a dead perſon to it's body. Elijah, according to this hiſtorian, having promiſed to reſtore a dead child to his mother *alive*[e], prayed to God *to ſend back his ſoul into him, and to grant him life*[f], and the child *lived again*[g].

[b] Whitby, ubi ſupra.

[c] Wiſdom, iii. 1, 4.

[d] Poſſeſſing demons, according to him, were the ſouls of wicked men. Bel. Jud. l. 7. c. 6. §. 3. He was a Phariſee, and conſequently had adopted the principles of his ſect. See above, note [s], p. xxxvi.

[e] Ζωντα.

[f] Εδειτο τε του ψυχην επιστρεψαι παλιν τω παιδι, και παρασχειν αυτω του ζειν. Joſeph. Antiq. l. 8. c. 13. §. 3. Comp. 1 Kings xvii. 21.

[g] Ανεζωσεν.

I do

I do not appeal to the Jews as authorities to determine points of doctrine, nor can I aſſent to all that they have ſaid concerning the condition of the ſoul in the interval between death and the reſurrection. The only uſe I would make of them is to ſhew, in what ſenſe certain words were uſed in and near the time of Chriſt, in order to explain the language of Scripture. If, in the time here referred to, the terms, *reſurrection*, *reviviſcence*, or *living again*, as uſed both by Jews and Gentiles, denoted the reunion of a ſoul to a human body; the ſame terms, when adopted by Chriſt and his apoſtles, muſt have the ſame meaning. Every one would underſtand them in their common and ordinary ſignification. If, in the interpretation of the language of the ſacred writers, we are not guided and determined by the uſe of the ſame language by their contemporaries, fancy alone muſt be our interpreter. Now, if we know what life, when it expreſ-

ſes

ſes the reſurrection, is, we cannot but underſtand the meaning of *death* it's oppoſite; and, conſequently, as the former ſignifies the ſoul's return to a human body, the latter denotes it's ſeparation. Both terms imply the continuance of the ſoul after death: a principle held univerſally in the moſt ancient times[h], and which gives great probability to the doctrine of a reſurrection: a doctrine of the higheſt importance in the view of all Chriſtians, and the grand object of their faith and hope.

10. I might proceed to ſhew, that, without a clear knowledge of the ancient idolatry we cannot vindicate the laws of Moſes, nor do juſtice to the character of that divine legiſlator. But I cannot enlarge here upon this ſubject without anticipating what, I hope, will come under future conſideration.

The obſervations, that have been made on the great utility of being well ac-

[h] It was holden, we have ſeen, by Heathens and Jews, by patriarchs and prophets, and by the people, particularly in the times of Moſes and the Meſſiah.

quainted

quainted with the objects and rites of heathen worſhip, are equally applicable to almoſt all the opinions and cuſtoms[i] of antiquity, to which the Scriptures continually refer. What an agreeable uſe has Mr. Harmer made of his extenſive knowledge of them, in a work, as inſtructive as it is entertaining![k] For want of this knowledge, Chriſtians have miſtaken pagan tenets for the genuine doctrines of the Goſpel. The language of the Fathers is unintelligible by thoſe who are not well acquainted with the opinions which prevailed, before their times, in the ſchools of the heathen philoſophers. And the expoſitors, who have thrown moſt light upon the Scriptures, are ſuch as had the largeſt acquaintance with pagan antiquity.

The foregoing reflections, however *defective*, are, nevertheleſs, a ſufficient apology for any attempt to bring thoſe ac-

[i] See the learned Mr. Parkhurſt's Preface to his Hebrew Lexicon.

[k] Obſervations on divers paſſages of Scripture.

quainted

quainted with the heathen religion, who have no leiſure to ſearch the records of antiquity. My deſign is to lay before them ſuch facts as ſhall enable them to form a judgement for themſelves upon the ſubject, without relying upon the deciſion of others. I propoſe,

I. To ſhew the general prevalence of the worſhip of human ſpirits in the ancient heathen world.

II. To enquire into the grounds of this and every other ſpecies of idolatry, or into the principles upon which the whole ſyſtem of polytheiſm was built.

III. To conſider the high antiquity of idolatry, and more eſpecially of that ſpecies of it, the worſhip of human gods. And,

IV. To examine how far the repreſentation of the pagan gods, in Scripture, agrees with that made of them in the writings of the Heathens; or, how far the two accounts mutually illuſtrate and confirm each other.

The firſt of theſe articles, alone, is the ſubject of the preſent publication; and

it

it is eſtabliſhed upon evidence independent of the reſt; ſo that it may be fitly conſidered as a diſtinct treatiſe, ſuch as might have been publiſhed by itſelf, though no other were to follow. But the other articles are in a ſtate of great preparation for the preſs.

The ſubject of the following ſheets was touched upon in a former publication, but was then neceſſarily circumſcribed within narrow bounds. Here it is examined at large: and a wider compaſs is taken than any former writer, that I have ſeen, had done. A very pardonable zeal, to ſupport the reputation of the antient nations, has of late diſpoſed ſome learned writers to take pains to clear ſeveral of them from the reproach of worſhiping dead men. It has been ſaid by ſome, that this worſhip did not obtain amongſt the antient *Perſians*. Others have affirmed the ſame concerning the *Germans*, before their conqueſt by the Romans. A foreigner of great diſtinction, *Jablonſki*, has attempted to prove that dead men

men were not worſhipped by the *Egyptians*. Dr. Blackwell, in his *Letters on Mythology*[l], maintains that the gods of *the greater nations* were the deified parts and powers of the univerſe. And Mr. Bryant, ſecond to none in the knowledge of antiquity, though he could not but allow that the Heathens regarded their own gods as deified mortals, yet contends that they were miſtaken[m]. To theſe modern writers I might oppoſe a great number of other moderns no way inferior to them; but the queſtion before us muſt be determined by evidence.

There is another writer[n], whom I ſhould never have thought of in any connection with thoſe already mentioned, had he had not tranſcribed the objections of Dr. Blackwell; which he has done without acknowledging his obligation. This gentleman has been pleaſed to ho-

[l] P. 276, 277, 278, et paſſim. He can ſcarce be underſtood as ſpeaking of the objects of the eſtabliſhed worſhip. See p. 209.

[m] Mr. Bryant's *Mythology*. V. 1. p. 454, 455.

[n] The Rev. J. Fell, in a treatiſe entitled *Demoniacs*.

nour

nour me with his notice, and to oblige me with an uncommon meaſure of abuſe. With equal candour and penetration he compliments me with ſiniſter motives and diſguiſed infidelity*. His cenſures may do me credit; moſt certainly they diſgrace none but himſelf. They diſcover to the world what ſpirit he is of, and what opinion he entertained of his own cauſe, which he could not ſupport without the aid of calumny. There is another circumſtance in his conduct which does him no honour, and farther ſerves to ſhew his diſtreſs: I refer to his continually perverting my language from its natural and obvious meaning, and to his miſrepreſenting my ſentiments ſo groſſly, that I ſhould have often been at a loſs to know againſt whom his performance was written, had he not informed us.

Whether his miſrepreſentations are wilful or not, let others form what judgement they pleaſe: it is a matter of no concern to any one but himſelf: I barely

* Ib. p. 412, 413.

ſtate

ſtate the fact. The account he has given, not only of my ſentiments but even of thoſe of the moſt reſpectable writers of antiquity, is ſo very remote from the truth, that, to whatever cauſe it is to be aſcribed, I determined from the firſt never to write any thing *merely* in anſwer to him. Such anſwer muſt have entirely conſiſted in ſhewing that he either could not or would not underſtand the plaineſt language; an undertaking which could yield neither pleaſure nor benefit to the reader, nor throw any new light upon the controverſy. Nevertheleſs, when I had reſolved, on reaſons which had no relation to this gentleman, to lay before the public my view of the heathen gods, I judged it not improper to point out his errors upon this ſubject, in order to furniſh a *ſpecimen* of his manner of writing, without which it would have appeared incredible that any one could write in the manner he has done. That part of his performance here animadverted upon was ſelected from the reſt, on account

of

of it's connection with the ſubject of the following ſheets, and becauſe it has been thought to carry with it a greater face of probability than any other. It is certainly liable to fewer objections.

Controverſies, when properly conducted, are of eminent uſe to mankind. They arreſt the attention more than general reaſonings, and awaken a ſpirit of inquiry, to which, under God, we owe all our improvements in ſcience, and every juſt idea we have formed of religion. By occaſioning a more perfect inveſtigation of ſubjects, they aſſiſt in the detection of error and in the diſcovery of truth. They have a natural tendency to ſoften our prejudices againſt thoſe who differ from us in opinion, by ſhewing us how much they can offer in their own defence. By opening and enlarging the mind, they ſerve to cure that bigotry, which is not peculiar to any one ſect or party, but common to all who have ſtrong paſſions and prejudices, and narrow views of things, and who never read

any thing that is written againſt their own favourite tenets. On the other hand, when controverſies degenerate into perſonal altercation and abuſe, or are ſupported by forced conſtructions and groſs miſrepreſentations, they are a diſgrace to the parties, and of no ſervice to the public.

Thoſe miſrepreſentations, which I have had ſo much reaſon to complain of in others, I have uſed the utmoſt caution to avoid myſelf. And it is no ſmall preſumption of my care in this reſpect, that, notwithſtanding my numerous citations both from ancient and modern writers, Dr. Worthington, a gentleman of real learning, whom I had cenſured for his miſrepreſentations, (though he might be deemed quite accurate in compariſon with Mr. Fell,) has not, if my memory does not fail me, retorted the charge, except in one ſingle inſtance, for which there was no foundation[p].

In

[p] The following is the exact ſtate of the caſe. In letters to Dr. Worthington, p. 112, in a note, I ſaid,

Dr.

In all points of importance I have either cited the original words of my

 vouchers,

Dr. Mill is poſitive, they (the words τον ισχηκοτα τον λεγιωνα, *him that had the legion*, Mark v. 15.) *are an interpolation.* Dr. Worthington (in his Farther Enquiry, p. 164.) ſays, " he turned to the place in Dr. Mill's " New Teſtament; and, to his great ſurpriſe, found " *the very reverſe* of what I had repreſented him to " have maintained." He adds, " Dr. Mill, in truth, " *only* tells you, that theſe words were wanting in a- " bout five or ſix ancient manuſcripts; that the Syriac " and Arabic had them; and that Grotius thought the " paſſage ought to be retained." Now, if Dr. Mill on the place has *only* told us what others thought of it, without making any mention of his own opinion concerning it, how could Dr. Worthington aſſert he had found the *very reverſe* of what I had affirmed to be true? To make good his aſſertion, he ſhould have ſhewn, that Dr. Mill was poſitive the paſſage was *not* an interpolation. But, I had aſſerted that Dr. Mill was poſitive that it was, and Dr. Worthington charges the aſſertion with *deceit*; and concludes with this admonition, *Let this author never more accuſe others of miſrepreſentation*, p. 165. Had Dr. Worthington looked into Dr. Mill's *prolegomena*, where he was more likely to find his ſentiments of the paſſage in queſtion than upon the place where it was his proper buſineſs to ſtate the ſentiments of others concerning it, he would have found that Dr. Mill was, as I had affirmed, *poſitive it was an interpolation.* He ſays it CERTAINLY was a marginal gloſs, and

rejects

general references. It leaves room to doubt of the accuracy of a writer, however well aſſured we may be of his fidelity. And it is the moſt likely way to eſcape detection, if a writer can ſo far forget his duty, and diſregard his reputation, as to be willing to impoſe upon the credulity of his readers. This indeed is a caſe that ſeldom happens, and can never happen where there is any degree either of honour or of prudence.

How it ſo fell out, there is no occaſion to inquire, but certain it is in fact, that a late writer, though he ſays[a], *He hopes ſome allowance will be made for frequent and neceſſary quotations, to make it evident that he does not impute to any author opinions which he never maintained,* is remarkably defective in this reſpect. Indeed he could not but be ſo in ſome caſes; I mean, when his own voucher did not contain the ſentiment aſcribed to him. But he ſcarce ever cites the ancients in their own languages, even though the ar-

[a] Fell's Demoniacs, Introduction, p. viii.

gument

gument depends upon the exactneſs of the tranſlation. As to his references, for the moſt part they are only general, and cannot be eaſily found by thoſe who have moſt occaſion to conſult them, ſuch as have only a ſlender acquaintance with ancient writers. In ſome inſtances, I acknowledge, his references are particular and exact; but they happen to be quite otherwiſe when *he imputes to authors*, as we ſhall ſee he does, *opinions which they never maintained.* Be this the effect of accident or deſign, it is certainly a reaſon for reading Mr. Fell with ſingular caution.

COR-

CORRIGENDA.

Page 125, note [q], line 2, *for* that *read* this.
140, line 13, *for* told Herodotus *read* ſaid.
142, note [s], *for* 150 *read* 156.
152, line 2, *read*, after whom he was denominated.
369, note *, line 17, *for* comical *read* conical.
402, note [l], line 1, *for* inert *read* ineſt.
476, line 2, *for* has *read* have.

DELENDA.

140, line 15, *dele* the oldeſt of their gods.
177, line 6, *dele* and Egyptians.
183, note [s], line 6, *dele* and the Egyptians.

ADDENDA.

36, at the end of note [c], *add* Voſſius de Idololat. l. I. c. 35, p. 134.
127, at the end of note [r], *add* Voſſ. de Idololat. p. 95.
224, at the end of note [l], *add* p. 147.
396, note [l], line 2, *after* Commodo *add* p. 72.

THE

THE GENERAL PREVALENCE OF THE Worſhip of HUMAN SPIRITS, IN THE ANCIENT HEATHEN NATIONS, ASSERTED AND PROVED.

BEFORE I offer any thing in proof of the general worſhip of human ſpirits amongſt the ancient Heathens, it will be proper briefly to review the account I had given of their gods in a former publication*; both that we may be able to

* Diſſertation on miracles, ch. III. ſect. ii.

determine, whether there be any pertinence or force in the objections which have been urged againſt that account; and that, at the ſame time, the way may be prepared for what I propoſe farther to advance on the ſubject of the pagan theology.

I. It was not only admitted, but alſo by a variety of teſtimonies largely proved, "that the Heathens deified the world," together "with it's moſt illuſtrious parts "and active principles, the elements, the "heavens and all their hoſt"[b]. It was alſo allowed, that theſe *natural gods* "were the *firſt* deities of all the idola-"trous nations"[c]. And therefore to produce new proofs of theſe points, (which it is eaſy to do,) though it may have the appearance of oppoſing, is in reality to confirm, the doctrine of the Diſſertation on miracles concerning the heathen gods. It did not fall in with the deſign of that performance, to treat more fully concerning the deification of the

[b] Ib. p. 169-172. [c] P. 172.

objects

objects of nature. But more than enough* was ſaid upon the ſubject, to render it impoſſible for any man to doubt, whether I allowed, that the Heathens aſſerted the divinity of nature and it's component parts.

II. It was farther ſhewn[d], that, beſides the deified parts and powers of nature, the Heathens acknowledged *demons:* a term, with whatever latitude[e] it may be ſometimes uſed, yet, when demons are contradiſtinguiſhed (as they were by me on this occaſion[f]) from the natural or celeſtial gods, always denotes thoſe *ſubaltern deities*, who were ſuppoſed to carry on all intercourſe between the celeſtial gods and men, and to have the entire adminiſtration of the government of this lower world committed to them; and who hereby became the objects of immediate dependence and divine worſhip. In this ſenſe the term was large-

* See p. 231. [d] P. 174.
[e] Letters to Worthington, p. 29.
[f] Diſſert. on mir. p. 169, 174, 175.

ly explained in the Diſſertation[f]. Immediately after giving this explication, I proceeded to controvert the opinion of thoſe, who teach, " that the de- " mons of the Heathens were ſpirits of " a higher origin than the human race"[g]: and then inferred, from the reflections which had been offered, that, though the Heathens, and particularly ſome of the lateſt philoſophers, fancied there was a higher[h] order of demons, yet that " this " higher order of them is not ſo fre- " quently ſpoken of as is generally ſup- " poſed[i]; and that the common hypo- " theſis is built upon weak grounds[i]." I then added, (what clearly ſhews how far I rejected that hypotheſis,)

" I ſhall now aſſign thoſe reaſons " which induce me to think, that, by " demons, (ſuch, I mean, as were *the* " *more immediate objects of the eſtabliſhed* " *worſhip* amongſt the ancient nations,

[f] P. 174, 175. [g] P. 176.
[h] P. 183, note [f]. See alſo note [r] in p. 204, 220.
[i] P. 183.

" particularly

" particularly the Egyptians, Greeks,
" and Romans,) we are to underſtand
" beings of an earthly origin, or ſuch
" departed human ſouls as were believed
" to become demons"[k].

This is the propoſition which I undertook to eſtabliſh. Here it is of great importance to obſerve,

1. That there is nothing in this propoſition inconſiſtent with allowing (what had been before proved) that the Heathens acknowledged and worſhipped celeſtial or natural gods. For, the only ſubject of the propoſition is *demons*, conſidered as a diſtinct order of deities from thoſe ſtiled natural; and therefore the latter could not be included in it. Nay, the very deſcription of demons as the more *immediate* objects of worſhip does

[k] P. 183, 184. It is ſcarce neceſſary to obſerve, that the ſame human ſpirits that were called *demons*, when diſtinguiſhed from elementary and ſidereal deities, as they are above; yet, on other occaſions, are frequently called *gods*. And ſometimes they are diſtinguiſhed from each other by the different denominations of *gods*, *demons*, and *heroes*, according to their different ranks.

itſelf imply, that there were *ultimate* objects of it, who could be no other than thoſe celeſtial gods, whoſe agents and miniſters[1] the former were ſuppoſed to be. Farther,

2. The preceding propoſition has no relation to the *gods* held only by the *philoſophers*. The theiſtic philoſophers not only aſſerted the divinity of the parts and powers of nature, but explained *phyſically*, what was underſtood *literally* or *hiſtorically* by the people reſpecting the gods. It may be allowed, that the philoſophers entertained very juſt notions of the true God; and that they deſcribed him and the natural gods by the term demon; (which is indeed ſometimes uſed in a large ſenſe as equivalent to a *deity*[m].) But all theſe gods are out of the queſtion. The term *demons* is uſed in the propoſition in a reſtrained ſenſe, to expreſs the ſubaltern deities, and was ſo explained. It is limited to ſuch demons as were the

[1] Differt. on mir, p. 174, 175.
[m] Letters to Worthington, p. 29.

objects

objects of the *eſtabliſhed worſhip*; or (as it is elſewhere expreſſed) of *popular adoration*,[a] and *public devotion*,[c] to *whom alone the ſacrifices were offered, (while the celeſtial gods were worſhipped only with a pure mind, or with hymns and praiſes.*[c])

3. The truth of the foregoing propoſition cannot be affected by the peculiar doctrine of the *philoſophers* concerning *demons*, when they apply the term to ſpirits who were ſuppoſed to hold a middle rank between the gods and men. It was admitted and proved in the Diſſertation,[b] that ſome of the philoſophers did aſſert the exiſtence of demons of a celeſtial origin, or of ſuch as had never been men. Many more proofs of the ſame point might have been produced, had the occaſion required them. But the opinion of the philoſophers concerning the exiſtence of celeſtial demons, even ſuppoſing it to be true, cannot diſprove the truth of the propoſition under conſideration, unleſs it can be ſhewn,

[a] P. 186. [c] P. 176. [b] Note [b] above.

that theſe demons were the objects of the national eſtabliſhed worſhip amongſt the Heathens. Nothing can be plainer, than that the propoſition only affirms, that the demons deſcribed in it were beings of an earthly origin. Every objection therefore, that is drawn from what any of the ancients taught concerning demons that do not anſwer to that deſcription, muſt be foreign from the point[9].

4. When the propoſition ſpeaks of ſuch demons as were the more immediate objects of the eſtabliſhed worſhip amongſt the ancient nations; this can reſpect only thoſe nations in which *ſome* demons or ſubaltern deities, either celeſtial or terreſtrial, were acknowledged. The propoſition ſuppoſes this to be the caſe in ſeveral nations, and particularly ſpecifies the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, but without excluding all other people. It is capable of being extended

[9] Compare what is ſaid concerning the philoſophers, Diſſert. p. 189, 190.

to

to all who, beſides the natural gods, worſhipped demons.

Nevertheleſs, I had a more eſpecial reference to the nations that were in the moſt civilized ſtate, and to thoſe whoſe demons are ſpoken of in Scripture. It was ſaid in expreſs terms[r], "that my "main deſign would be anſwered, if it "could be ſhewn, that the more imme-"diate objects of divine worſhip *in the* "*moſt poliſhed heathen nations* were deified "mortals." And that I had a peculiar view to the nations whoſe demons are ſpoken of in Scripture, appears from the declaration[s], that *my main deſign was to explain and juſtify the Scripture repreſentation of the heathen deities*; from the title of the ſection in which this ſubject is handled, *The Scripture repreſentation of the nature and claims of the heathen gods, conſidered*[t]; from the words that introduce the ſection, and ſtate the ſubject of it, *The gods of the Heathens taken notice of in Scripture*[t]; and from the apology[u] made

[r] Differt. p. 185, [s] Ibid. [t] P. 169. [u] P. 231.

for

for the long account given of them, it's *importance to a juſt defence of the Scripture.* The nations, to whoſe gods the Scriptures refer, are thoſe which bordered upon Judea, or in which Chriſtian churches were planted; and theſe were of all others the moſt improved in ſcience.

To theſe nations my views were confined, and from them my proofs were drawn. Nor can the propoſition be extended to the nations ſtiled *barbarous*, if they worſhipped only the natural gods. To ſuch nations theſe gods were not the *ultimate*, but the *ſole*, objects of worſhip. And no one could be ſo abſurd as to ſet himſelf to prove, that thoſe, who had no demons of any kind, worſhipped one particular ſpecies of demons. It was admitted[w], that, in the opinion of Plato, *many* (not *moſt*, as Mr. Fell[x] miſinterprets the original[y]) of the Barbarians in his time

[w] Id. p. 173, note [f]. [x] P. 9.

[y] Πολλοι των βαρβαρων. Platon. Cratyl. tom. i. p. 397, C. ed. Serrani, 1578. This language may import no more than that, amongſt the barbarous people bordering upon

time held only the natural gods. It could not be my intention to include ſuch Barbarians in the propoſition.

Let us now examine whether a late writer has given a juſt account of this ſubject. He has twice referred to the preceding propoſition, and cited a part of it, but with ſuch alterations or omiſſions as effectually diſguiſe it's true meaning. When he is oppoſing my notion of the heathen *gods*, he omits the word *demons*;[z] though theſe ſubaltern gods were, as I have ſhewn, the only ſubjects of the propoſition. And, when he is proving that the Heathens had demons of a different kind from thoſe of human extract, (a point admitted by me,) he ſuppreſſes[a] all the words in the propoſition,

upon Greece, there were ſeveral tribes which ſtill worſhipped only the elements and heavenly bodies. This was not true concerning the *great nations* in general; (as will be ſhewn in the ſequel;) to theſe therefore Plato cannot refer. His expreſſion implies, that the poliſhed nations acknowledged other gods beſides the natural; and that ſome at leaſt of the barbarians did ſo too.

[z] Fell, p. 30.

[a] Fell, p. 91. Comp. Diſſert. on mir. p. 183.

which

which were inſerted to ſhew, that it reſpected only *ſuch* demons as were *the more immediate objects of the eſtabliſhed worſhip* in certain nations. To point out the limitation of the propoſition to theſe demons, the words that expreſs it were printed in Italics, as they are above[b]. Nevertheleſs, his objections proceed on the falſe ſuppoſition, that the propoſition was to be underſtood univerſally of all demons.

Beſides mutilating the propoſition under conſideration, in a manner that muſt miſlead his readers in the judgement they formed of it, and conſequently of the main point in debate; the gentleman has placed another propoſition before them, and left them to ſuppoſe it to be mine in it's moſt unlimited ſignification. "No opinion," he obſerves[c], "can be more erroneous than this, *That "all the pagan deities had once been men.*" In what part of the *Diſſertation*, this, or any ſuch, aſſertion is to be found, the gentleman has not informed his readers:

[b] P. 4. [c] Fell, p. 30.

an

an omiſſion with which he is often chargeable. He might poſſibly have in view here (as he has elſewhere) the place[d] in which it is affirmed, that the writers of the Old Teſtament "very properly deſcribed the "heathen gods as *dead* perſons;" and that they were "nothing more."[e] But it is at the very ſame time obſerved, "that the "writers of the Old Teſtament knew, "that the Heathens believed in elementary and ſidereal deities;" and that the reaſon why they deſcribed their gods as dead perſons was, "becauſe it was to "ſuch that the public worſhip was more "*immediately* directed."[f] Under this limitation, or with reſpect to thoſe demons whom I had deſcribed as the more immediate objects of public worſhip, I muſt be underſtood as ſpeaking, when, upon the authority of the ſacred writers (as will be ſhewn hereafter) I repreſented

[d] Differt. p. 197. [e] Ib. note [h].

[f] I might have added, that theſe gods did in a great meaſure *ingroſs* the public devotion. (See Differt. p. 176.)

the

the heathen gods as nothing more than dead perſons. What was ſpoken profeſſedly concerning *one* claſs or order of gods, as contradiſtinguiſhed from *another*, could not, by fair reaſoning, be applied to both. If any ſuch general expreſſions as that we have been examining, occur in any other part of the Diſſertation; which (if ever) they very rarely do, and then only incidentally; they ought in all reaſon to be limited to the ſubjects of the propoſition, in which I was profeſſedly ſtating the point I meant to eſtabliſh; eſpecially as terms expreſſive of this limitation are almoſt always uſed, in order to guard againſt miſtakes; and frequent explicit acknowledgements are made of the Heathens aſſerting the divinity of the elements and heavenly bodies*. Could I conceive it poſſible, that I ſhould be charged (as I am in effect) with affirming, that the following heathen gods, the ſun, moon, and ſtars, and the elements of fire, air, earth, and water, were nothing more than

* See Diſſert. p. 231-233.

dead

dead men? No one can faſten ſuch an abſurdity upon me, but by explaining the Diſſertation, as too many do the Scriptures, as if it was compoſed of diſtinct independent ſentences, that have no connexion with each other.

Farther, Mr. Fell frequently makes an addition to my text, and inſerts into it the word *all*, without any warrant; particularly in the following paſſage: "Mr. Farmer would make us believe, that Herodotus meant to ſay, "that the Greeks looked upon *all* their "gods to have been of the human "race."[a] I muſt add, that, when he[b] ſpeaks of "the ſyſtem which repreſents "*all* demons as nothing more than the "ſpirits of departed men"; he manifeſtly refers to me, though my ſyſtem neither makes, nor requires, ſuch a repreſentation.

By the ſeveral methods here ſpecified, and others of a ſimilar nature, the gentleman conveys into the minds of his

[a] Fell, p. 27, 28. Diſſert. p. 186, 187.

[b] Fell's introduction, p. xv.

readers

readers a falſe impreſſion of the main point I undertook to eſtabliſh. This impreſſion is continually renewed and rivetted by the general ſtrain of his reaſoning; which ſuppoſes that I meant to prove, "that all the heathen gods were "human ſpirits"; and not merely (as was the real caſe) "that the demons of a "certain deſcription were ſuch." There are but few ſo very dull of apprehenſion, as not to perceive the difference between theſe two propoſitions; or to want to be informed, that arguments, which may overturn the former, cannot affect the latter. This miſrepreſentation of the point upon which the whole argument turns (had there been no other inſtance of miſrepreſentation to produce) might well juſtify me in ſaying, that I ſhould not have known againſt whom Mr. Fell was writing, had he ſuppreſſed my name. Nevertheleſs, the gentleman ſets out (in a manner well calculated to prevent all ſuſpicion of unfair dealing) with ſhewing of what importance

tance it is, that thoſe *who differ in their ſentiments, when they write one againſt another, ſhould calmly and* EXACTLY *ſtate the particular articles concerning which they differ.*[1] Why did not the gentleman follow this uſeful and neceſſary rule?

But I will not animadvert upon his conduct; only, in juſtice to myſelf, muſt obſerve, that his mutilating my propoſition; his ſubſtituting another in it's room, without taking any notice of it's neceſſary limitation; and his making additions to my text; theſe ſeveral circumſtances are a tacit confeſſion, that he could not ſupport his account of my ſentiments by any fair conſtruction of my language. If his miſrepreſentations are mere miſtakes, they are (in ſome ſenſe) fortunate miſtakes for him; being apparently neceſſary to give a colour to his reaſonings, and to procure for himſelf the appearance of a victory over his opponent: for, had the ſubject been truly

[1] Fell's introduction, p. viii. ix.

ſtated, theſe ends could not have been anſwered; and his readers would have ſmiled at the ſatisfaction and confidence, with which he urges objections foreign from the purpoſe.

Mr. Fell[k] begins with appealing to the ancient theogonies, particularly that of Heſiod, in order to prove, *that the greateſt part of thoſe deities to whom the Heathens ſacrificed were by them conſidered as exiſting prior to the creation of man.* An argument of this ſort from the theogonies was ſuggeſted by the learned and ingenious author of *Letters concerning Mythology*,[l] univerſally aſcribed to Dr. Blackwell,

[k] P. 1.

[l] P. 211, 212, 213. Whoever is deſirous of ſeeing how cloſely Mr. Fell copies Dr. Blackwell, may compare together the following paſſages. In p. 212, the doctor ſays, *Heſiod's theogony — is ſubſtantially the ſame with Orpheus's holy word, — in which he* (Orpheus) *explained points of no leſs importance than the births of the gods, the creation of the world, and formation of man.* Mr. Fell, p. 5, adopts his language; (with only ſuch an alteration of it as ſhews his deſire of concealing his obligation;) *His* (Heſiod's) *theogony contains the ſame plan with that aſcribed to Orpheus.—They* (Heſiod, Orpheus, and others) *all.*

well, but employed by him to a more reaſonable purpoſe than by Mr. Fell. The former, if I underſtand him aright, urges it only to prove, that the Heathens deified nature and it's various parts and powers, and that theſe were their primary gods. Both theſe propoſitions were admitted by me; and the former of them is capable of the cleareſt proof [m]. But the argument, as ſtated and applied by Mr. Fell, is not only founded upon a bold, not to ſay falſe, aſſertion [n]; but has no relation to

all attempt to explain things of no leſs moment than the original of their gods, the creation of the world, and the formation of man.

[m] See above, p. 2.

[n] Mr. Fell aſſerts, "that *the greateſt part* of thoſe "deities, to whom the Heathens ſacrificed, were by "them conſidered as exiſting prior to the creation of "man." The number of the heathen gods was comparatively ſmall at firſt; but they increaſed afterwards, to ſuch a degree, that the wretched Atlas could ſcarce ſupport the weight of ſo many new divinities.

——— Contentaque ſidera paucis
Numinibus miſerum urgebant Atlanta minori
Pondere. Juvenal. Sat. xiii. v. 47.

The

the proper point in diſpute. The queſtion is not, whether the Heathens believed in gods of an earlier origin than the human race; but, whether ſuch demons as were the more immediate objects of the eſtabliſhed worſhip in certain nations were not dead men. Heſiod himſelf (to whom Mr. Fell appeals) ſhall decide the controverſy: for, (as our great chronologer obſerves,[o]) Heſiod[p], *deſcribing the four ages of the gods and demigods of Greece, repreſents them to be four generations of men.* I add, that Plato[q] had long before taken notice, *that all thoſe who die valiantly in war are of Heſiod's golden generation, and become de-*

The men of the golden age, who became demons, were thirty thouſand, Heſiod. Oper. et Dier. l. i. v. 250. But theſe were nothing in compariſon with the vaſt number of human ſpirits which were worſhipped in different parts of the world: for moſt nations ſacrificed at the tombs of their anceſtors, and to their domeſtic gods. See Varro, concerning the *dii manes*, ap. Auguſt. Civ. Dei, l. 8, c. 26.

[o] Sir Iſ. Newton, Chron. p. 162.

[p] Oper. et Dier. l. 1, v. 108.

[q] De Rep. l. 5, p. 469. Diſſert. on mir. p. 191.

mons;

mons; and that we ought for ever to worſhip and adore their ſepulchres as the ſepulchres of demons.

But I do not propoſe to examine all the objections of this gentleman by themſelves. Opportunities of animadverting upon them will occur in the execution of my plan, without my going out of the way to meet them. My deſign is to ſhew at large, that human ſpirits were generally worſhipped by the ancient Heathens. The proofs of this point either reſpect particular nations, or are of a more general nature, and equally reſpect all the moſt celebrated nations of antiquity. It is with the objects of worſhip in the latter that we are beſt acquainted; and to them all men more peculiarly refer, when they ſpeak in general of the heathen gods. In the courſe of our argument it will be ſhewn, that, in theſe nations, not only were dead men and women deified, but that ſuch deities were conſidered

as their *greateſt* gods, and even as the *ſole* objects of the eſtabliſhed worſhip, almoſt, if not altogether, without exception. I mean, that it was to human gods that the eſtabliſhed worſhip was more immediately and properly directed, in all, or almoſt all, caſes whatſoever. What reference it had to the deified parts or powers of nature will not come under conſideration here.

I ſhall begin with laying before the reader thoſe proofs of the worſhip of human ſpirits, amongſt the ancient Heathens, which reſpect particular nations. The ancient gentile nations may be divided into two claſſes, ſuch as are uſually accounted *barbarous*, and ſuch as were *poliſhed by learning*. And I propoſe to prove, by heathen teſtimonies, that in *moſt* of the former, and in *all* the latter, divine honours were paid to the dead.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

Proving, from the teſtimonies of the Heathens, that they paid religious honours to dead men in the nations ſtiled barbarous, or that were in an uncivilized ſtate.

THOUGH in treating, in a former publication, of ſuch heathen demons as were the objects of eſtabliſhed worſhip, I had no direct view to the barbarous nations; and though the propoſition I then undertook to prove could have no reſpect to ſuch of them as did not acknowledge any demons[a]; yet a late opponent fancied he ſhould refute me, if he could ſhew that ſome of theſe nations worſhipped only the natural gods. The attempt was not very judicious; what his ſucceſs is, will be ſeen

[a] Above, p. 8–11.

hereafter. I ſhall firſt of all examine, whether human ſpirits were worſhipped in the barbarous nations taken notice of by Mr. Fell; and then inquire how far this was the caſe with thoſe which he has omitted.

SECT. I.

Shewing, from the teſtimony of the Heathens, that moſt even of thoſe barbarous nations, which have been ſaid to worſhip only the natural gods, paid divine honours to deceaſed men.

IN the eight barbarous nations that follow, the Scythians, the Maſſagetes, the Getes, the Goths, the Germans, the Perſians, the Arabians, and the inhabitants of Meroe, no deceaſed heroes were worſhipped, according to a late writer.

I. With reſpect to the *Scythians*, we are told by Herodotus[1], that the only gods

[1] Θιους μεν μουνους τουσδε ιλασκονται, Ιςιην μεν μαλιςα, επι δε, Δια τε και Γην, νομιζοντες την Γην του Διος ειναι γυναικα· μετα

gods whom they all worſhipped, were principally *Veſta*, called by them *Tabiti*; then *Jupiter* and his wife *Gee* the earth, denominating the firſt *Papæus*, the ſecond *Apia*; and after theſe *Apollo* and the celeſtial *Venus* (called in their language *Oetoſyrus* and *Artimpaſa*); and *Hercules* and *Mars*. The hiſtorian adds, that the royal Scythians ſacrifice alſo to *Neptune*.

Mr. Fell[v], copying after Dr. Blackwell[w], conſiders *Oetoſyrus* and *Artimpaſa* as the names of the *ſun* and *moon*; and explains *Hercules* and *Mars* by *the powers of war*. Though I feel the weight of Dr. Blackwell's authority, yet it cannot, I apprehend, be proved from Herodotus, that the Scythians worſhipped the parts and powers of nature excluſively of human ſpirits, or even that the latter were not the immediate objects of their worſhip. Moſt of the Scythian gods (if not

μετα δε τουτους, Απολλωνα τε, και ουρανιην Αφροδιτην, και Ηρακλεα, και Αρεα· τουτους μεν παντες οι Σκυθαι νενομικασι· οι δε βασιληιοι Σκυθαι και τον Ποσειδεωνι θυουσι. κ. τ. λ. Herodot. l. 4. c. 59.

[v] P. 8. [w] Mythol. p. 274, 275.

all)

full information concerning the Scythians, expreſsly teſtifies, that they raiſed Zamolxis, their ancient legiſlator, and other illuſtrious men into the rank of gods.

II. "The *Maſſagetes*, their neigbours," ſays Mr. Fell[c], in agreement with Dr. Blackwell, "adored no gods but the "ſun." The Maſſagetes were ſavages upon the borders of the Caſpian ſea[d]; and there is no more reference to their gods in the Diſſertation, than to thoſe of the inhabitants of Otaheite. I cannot however help making the following obſervations.

Herodotus[e], who is the only author referred to by Dr. Blackwell, and after him by Mr. Fell, in proof of their aſſertion, ſpoke from report only. And it is generally allowed, that this hiſtorian, however faithful he may be in re-

ed. Amſtel. 1687. See alſo v. 2. p. 713. et Tertullian. de Anima, c. 2.

[c] P. 8, 9. Compare Blackwell's Myth. p. 275.

[d] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 201, 204.

[e] Lib. 1. c. 216.

lating

lating facts which came within his own knowledge, gave too eaſy credit to what was reported to him by others: which renders his teſtimony doubtful in the caſe before us. Beſides, the Maſſagetes might be ſaid to worſhip only the ſun, in contradiſtinction to the other celeſtial luminaries, and not to mortal gods. Or the hiſtorian might only mean, that the ſun was *eminently* the object of their devotion; in which ſenſe, as we ſhall ſee, ſimilar language was uſed concerning the Perſians. It is remarkable, that we find the Maſſagetes ſwearing by the ſun under the character of *their ſovereign*[f]. It was an opinion propagated in the rude ages of the world, that the ſouls of eminent perſons became celeſtial luminaries. And theſe Barbarians might be led to believe, that the ſun was the ſoul of the firſt founder and ſovereign of their nation; or, at leaſt, that it was inhabited by ſome beneficent patron who was ap-

[f] Ηλιον ομνυμι τον των Μασσαγετεων δεσποτην. Herodot. l. 1. c. 212.

pointed

pointed to rule in it for their peculiar benefit. That they did not in any view whatever worſhip human ſpirits, will ſcarce appear credible to thoſe who conſider, that the Maſſagetes were a part of the Celtes[g], amongſt whom this worſhip prevailed. If they were a tribe of Scythians, as ſome affirmed[h], their patron-deity was Zamolxis. But theſe circumſtances are urged rather as conjectures, than as deciſive proofs; and it may be doubted, whether the people, of whom we are ſpeaking, were worſhippers of dead men.

Hitherto we have ſeen Mr. Fell copying Dr. Blackwell; but, under the next article, he appears to me under the character of a writer truly original.

III. "The Getes," ſays Mr. Fell[i], "eſteemed the heavens to be the only "deity." In ſupport of this aſſertion, he makes a general reference to the Clio

[g] See below, Sect. II.

[h] Herodot. l. 1. c. 201.

[i] P. 9.

of

of Herodotus, but without informing his readers in what particular chapter, or in what page, of that book he found it; though this, ſurely, would have been as eaſy as to direct his readers to the very line [k] in Heſiod in which his citations from him may be found.

I have lately read over the whole hiſtory of Herodotus; and think I can affirm, with certainty, that there *is* no ſuch paſſage, in any part of this hiſtorian, as that which Mr. Fell quotes as his. That there *can* be no ſuch paſſage in him as that in queſtion, is capable of very clear proof. The Getes were a part of the Thracians [l]. Now, the latter, as will be ſhewn in the ſequel, did certainly worſhip Zamolxis; and therefore very probably the former did ſo too. But, what is more material, and indeed quite deciſive, it appears from Herodotus himſelf, to whom Mr. Fell appeals,

[k] Fell, p. 1, 2, 3, notes [a], [b], [c], [d], [e], [f].

[l] Herodot. l. 4, c. 93.

that

that the Getes propitiated [m] the god Zamolxis; and, in time of thunder and lightning, *threatened this deity, believing there was no other god but theirs* [n].

Many other Greek writers, of the firſt reputation, contradict Mr. Fell's aſſertion, that the Getes eſteemed the heavens to be the only deity. When Plato introduces a Thracian aſſerting the divinity [o] of their king Zamolxis, he is ſuppoſed to refer to the Getes, as well as to the other inhabitants of Thrace. Strabo [p], in more places than one, ſpeaks of Zamolxis the Pythagorean as a deity, and one acknowledged as ſuch by the Getes. Lucian [q] makes mention of him

[m] Τοισι δε ιλεως ο θεος δοκεει ειναι. Herodot. l. 4. c. 94.

[n] Απειλεισι τω θεω, οκοταν αλλον θεον νομιζοντες ειναι οι μη των σφετερεων. Id. ib.

[o] Ζαμολξις λεγει, ο ημετερος βασιλευς, θεος ων. Platon. Charmid. p. 157, tom. 2. ed. H. Stephani. — p. 276, ed. Ficini.

[p] Ζαμολξις — παρα δε τοις Γεταις νομιζεται θεος. Li. 7. c. 457. See alſo p. 466, 1106, ed. Amſtel.

[q] Deor. Concil. Oper. tom. 2. p. 713. ed. Amſtel. See below, near the end of the next ſection, where the Thracians are ſpoken of.

as

as having riſen from the condition of a ſlave to divine honours. Diogenes Laertius expreſſly refers to the hiſtory of Herodotus when he ſays, that Pythagoras had a ſlave named Zamolxis, *to whom the Getes ſacrifice*[r]. And Jamblichus, in his life of Pythagoras, affirms, that the Getes regarded Zamolxis as *the greateſt of the gods*[s].

I do not know that theſe teſtimonies are contradicted by a ſingle perſon, whether ancient or modern, Mr. Fell alone excepted. But, notwithſtanding ſeveral unfavourable appearances, and the liberties he takes on other occcaſions[t], he may be able to clear himſelf from all ſuſpicion of having had recourſe to invention, in order to ſupply his want of teſtimonies. As that is a matter that muſt be left to himſelf, I

[r] Καὶ δοῦλον Ζαμόλξιν, ὃν Γέται θεὸν, Κρόνου νομίζοντες, ὡς φησιν Ἡρόδοτος. Diogen. Laert. Vit. Pythagor. l. 8. ſegm. 2.

[s] Μέγιστος τῶν θεῶν ἐστι παρ' αὐτοῖς. Jamblich. c. 30.

[t] See above, p. 11-17.

ſhall only obſerve, that, had he had any knowledge of the ſentiments of Herodotus, and the other Greek writers, concerning the gods of the Getes, prudence, at leaſt, would have reſtrained him from aſſerting a fact, that was contradicted by all antiquity, and even by that very hiſtorian to whom he appealed for it's ſupport. Mr. Fell, after ſpeaking of the Getes, adds,

IV. " The ſame objects of religious " worſhip paſſed from the ancient Scy- " thians to the *Goths*"[u].

With reſpect to theſe people, our author has given us no authority but his own; the weight of which we need not now examine. Had he not been as entirely unacquainted with the Goths as with the Getes, he would have known there was as little reaſon to rank the former, as (I have ſhewn there was) the latter, amongſt the nations which worſhipped only the natural gods. A few extracts from *Olaus Magnus*[w] (himſelf

[u] Fell, p. 9.

[w] I refer to his Hiſtoria de Gentibus ſeptentrionalibus, publiſhed at Rome, 1555.

ſelf a Goth, and archbiſhop of Upſal) will ſerve to prove, that the inhabitants of the northern countries in general, while they continued Heathens, worſhipped dead men.

From this writer we learn, that many of theſe nations burnt their kings and princes, after their death, that they might become gods, or be ranked amongſt the gods [x]. He farther informs us, that the three *greater* gods of the Goths were *Thor*, *Friga*, and *Odhen* [y]. The laſt of theſe, *Odhen*, was certainly of human extract; for Olaus ſays of him, that, while living, he was acknowledged as a god by *all Europe*, on account of his ſuperiority in the art of war; which, it was thought, gave riſe to the opinion of the Goths, that Mars, whom antiquity conſidered as the god of

[x] Reges ac principes ſuos fatis exutos, ut vel dii fierent, vel inter deos eveherentur, combuſſerunt. Lib. 3, c. 1, p. 97.

[y] Vide c. 3, de tribus diis majoribus Gothorum.

war, was born amongſt them[z]. This god was appeaſed by the Goths with the blood of their captive enemies[a]. As to *Thor*, the *moſt mighty*, the preſident of the air, where he thunders[b], he ſeems to anſwer to the Roman Jupiter[c]; and was

[z] In page 100, he ſays, concerning Odhen, Quia vivus *tota Europa* divinitatis titulum, quòd nulli in arte militari cederet, aſſecutus fuiſſet; hinc eveniſſe creditur, ut Gothi —— Martem, quem deum belli putavit antiquitas, apud ſe dicerent progenitum.

[a] Jornandes (de rebus Goticis, cap. 5.) affirms, that the Goths — Martem ſemper aſperrima placavere cultura. Nam victimæ ejus mortes fuere captivorum. — This is confirmed by other writers.

[b] Grotius (in his Proleg. Hiſt. Gott. et Vandal. p. 21.) ſays, Veteres Germani Deum cœli non alio nomine quam *Thorn* vocarunt, quod eſt *tonans* nunc etiam Danis. Michaelis (on the Influence of opinions on language, p. 19.) informs us, that, in ſome of the provinces of Germany, the peaſants, when it thunders, ſay, *The good old man is paſſing along the air*. Did they not derive this language from their pagan anceſtors, though they now apply it to God? I take notice of theſe circumſtances in this place, becauſe the Goths worſhipped nearly the ſame gods as the Germans.

[c] Thor, inquiunt, præſidet in aere; qui tonitrua, et fulmina, ventos, imbreſque, ſerena, et fruges, gubernat. —— Thor cum ſceptro Jovem exprimere videtur. M. Adamus Bremenſis de Sueonibus.

conſidered

conſidered as having once been a mortal man: for Olaus ſpeaks of ſome who were thought to be the ſons of Thor or Odhen. The deſcription given of *Frigga* agrees with that of Venus; but what reaſon can be aſſigned, why a woman might not as well be conſidered as the goddeſs of love, as a man be regarded as the god of war?

With reſpect to the *leſſer* deities of the Goths and all the northern provinces, *Methotin*, *Froe*, *Roſthicphus Finnonicus*, they are repreſented by Olaus as men who had been eminent in their time, but afterwards became gods, or companions of the gods[d], and were honoured with religious worſhip[e]. It is needleſs to obſerve, that many others were thought worthy of divine honours. But I muſt not omit to take notice, that there was a very magnificent temple of the northern gods near the river Sala, where Upſal

[d] Eoſque deos, vel deorum complices, autumantes, Olaus, c. 4. p. 101.

[e] Id. ubi ſupra, et c. 7. p. 106.

now ſtands, famous even from the time of Ninus[f]. Theſe extracts from Olaus (which are in a great meaſure confirmed by the learned authors[g] of the Ancient Univerſal Hiſtory) ſerve to ſhew what gods were really worſhipped by the Goths, as well as to detect the falſehood of the account given of them by Mr. Fell. With the Goths the gentleman joins

V. The *barbarous Germans*[h].

If the barbarous Germans had, as our author's language[h] implies, the ſame objects of religious worſhip with the ancient Scythians and Goths, the former

[f] Olaus, c. 6. p. 104.

[g] "The religion of the Goths ſeems to have "been the ſame with that of the ancient inhabitants of "Scandinavia and Saxony," — "whoſe chief gods "were the ſun, the moon, the celebrated Woden, his "ſon Thor, (who preſides over the air,) his wife "Frigga or Fræa, Tuiſto, Theutates, Heſus, Thara-"mis," &c. Ancient Univ. Hiſt. v. 19. p. 265, 177. 8vo. ed. 1748.

[h] "The ſame objects of religious worſhip paſſed from "the ancient Scythians to the Goths and barbarous "Germans," Fell, p. 9.

muſt

muſt have been worſhippers of dead men; becauſe we have ſhewn that ſuch were both the latter. And, on the other hand, if it can be proved that the Germans deified their heroes, this will confirm what has been advanced concerning the gods of the Goths and Scythians. Indeed, if it can be proved, concerning any one of theſe three nations, that human ſpirits were worſhipped in it, the ſame muſt be true concerning the other two, provided they had all the ſame objects of religious worſhip.

I allow, that, according to Cæſar, as he is commonly underſtood, the Germans owned no other gods but the ſun, Vulcan, and the moon[1]. But Cæſar, though well acquainted with the Gauls, whom he ſubdued after a ten years' war, had very little knowledge of the Germans; nor has he mentioned their religion but

[1] Deorum numero eos ſolos ducunt, quos cernunt, et quorum opibus aperte juvantur, Solem, et Vulcanum, et Lunam: reliquos ne fama quidem acceperunt. Cæſar, de Bell. Gall. l. 6, c. 20.

in the moſt tranſient manner. And he might imagine, as many others have done, that the Germans did not worſhip the ſpirits of deceaſed men, becauſe (as we learn from Tacitus) they thought it unbecoming the majeſty of the gods to be confined within temples, or repreſented under human forms[k]. The inference, however, is not juſt; for, if we believe, upon the authority of Tacitus, that the Germans had neither temples, nor images in human form; we muſt, upon the ſame authority, believe, that they worſhipped the ſpirits of deceaſed men; as will be ſoon ſhewn. Similar inſtances will occur in the ſequel.

The firſt accounts, given of the religion of foreign countries, are often imperfect and erroneous; but theſe accounts are generally corrected by farther enquiries, and a more improved acquaintance with the languages and cuſ-

[k] Nec cohibere parietibus deos, neque in ullam humani oris ſpeciem aſſimulare, ex magnitudine cœleſtium arbitrantur. Tacitus, de Mor. German. c. 9.

toms

toms of the people. How often were we told, that the honours, paid by the Chineſe to Confucius and their anceſtors, were of a *civil*, rather than of a *religious*, nature? Nevertheleſs it appeared, after the ſtricteſt examination into the matter, that the worſhip paid to the ſouls of their anceſtors is idolatrous; and that the ceremonies uſed in honour of Confucius are the very ſame with thoſe performed in the worſhip of the celeſtial and terreſtrial ſpirits of the Chineſe[l].

Thus (I apprehend) it is in the caſe before us: the defective[m] and (perhaps) erroneous view of the German gods, ex-

[l] See Moſheim's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſt. v. 2. p. 298–300, qto. and his Memoirs of the Chriſtian Church in China.

[m] Cæſar has omitted *Jupiter*, who nevertheleſs was worſhipped by the Germans, under the German-Celtic denomination of *Thor*, *Thur*, or *Thunder*. See the Rev. and learned Mr. Whitaker's Hiſt. of Mancheſter, v. 2. p. 359. The name was originally *Thoran*, *Thorn*; but the *n* was omitted in the pronunciation. Id. ib. He was the Tharamis, or Taranis, who will be ſpoken of under the article, *Gauls*. He was certainly a Celtic deity.

hibited

hibited by Cæſar, is ſupplied or corrected by the fuller information of Tacitus, who had thoroughly ſtudied their religion, and has given a very particular account of the objects of their worſhip; both of thoſe common to ſeveral nations of Germany, and thoſe peculiar to each of them. According to this very accurate writer, the Germans worſhipped the ſouls of dead men, and Hercules in particular, whom, when they went to battle, they extolled in their ſongs above all other heroes[n]; and they *appeaſed him and Mars with the animals uſually allowed for ſacrifice*[o]. From the manner in which Mars is joined with Hercules, there can be no ground to doubt, but that the former was of no higher an original than the latter. It is juſt the ſame thing as if the hiſtorian had ſaid, though both had been men, both were raiſed to the

[n] Fuiſſe apud eos et Herculem memorant, primumque omnium virorum fortium ituri in prælia canunt. Tacit. de Mor. Germ. c. 2.

[o] Herculem ac Martem conceſſis animalibus placant. Id. c. 9. Concerning Hercules, ſee c. 34.

rank

rank of gods, and worſhipped with the ſame rites. And indeed who could the Mars of the Germans be, but the ſame valiant hero and god of war who was worſhipped over *all Europe*[p]?

Several of the other German deities, mentioned by Tacitus, were alſo of human extract. Such were (to ſay nothing of Mercury[q]) *Tuiſto, a god ſprung from the earth*, (that is, the firſt man[r], as they accounted him,) *and his ſon, Mannus; the perſons from whom they were deſcended,*

[p] Above, p. 36, note [e].

[q] Mercury will be ſpoken of when we come to conſider the caſe of the Gauls.

[r] According to Tacitus, (Mor. Germ. c. 2.) the Germans were the original natives of their country, and neither derived from, nor mixed with, other people. They muſt therefore have conſidered Tuiſto as the firſt man. Erectheus, an ancient king of Athens, to whom a temple was dedicated, was alſo ſaid to be born of the earth, (Herodot. l. 8. c. 55.) and many others. Almoſt every nation pretended to be of equal duration with the earth itſelf. See Potter's Antiq. b. 1. c. 1. Compare Dr. Borlaſe's Antiquities of Cornwall, b. 1. c. 5.

and

and the founders of the nation[s]. To theſe we may probably add *Herthum*, that is, mother-earth, or the goddeſs that preſided over it, who was worſhipped by ſeveral people of Germany. She is deſcribed as a goddeſs who viſits countries, and is ſometimes drawn about in a chariot, and afterwards waſhed and purified, together with her holy vehicle, in a ſecret lake[t]. As to Iſis, Caſtor and Pollux, Velleda, and many more[u], it is impoſſible to doubt of their being of human origin.

Nor is there any juſt reaſon to conclude, that the Germans introduced a new ſpecies of worſhip in the interval of time between Cæſar and Tacitus. For the latter tells us, that their deifying Villeda and other women, in whom a ſpirit of divination was thought to dwell, was a-

[s] Celebrant Tuiſtonem deum, terra editum, et filium Mannum, originem gentis, conditoreſque. Tacit. Mor. Germ. c. 2. — Communis opinio et fama eſt, *homines terræ prognatos*, &c. Polyhiſtor & Abydenus, as cited by Schedius de Diis Germ. p. 278.

[t] Id. c. 40.

[u] C. 8, 9, 43.

greeable

greeable to *the ancient uſage of the Germans*[w]; not founded upon flattery, nor upon a notion that they could make deities by performing certain rites of conſecration, (which, as he inſinuates, was the caſe among the Romans,) but upon a real belief that ſuch women participated a divine quality[x].—The account given of the German gods by Tacitus is more authentic than Cæſar's, and has been ſo deemed by learned men[y]. But after all, there is perhaps no contradiction between theſe illuſtrious writers. Cæſar was too well acquainted with the genius of paganiſm, to deny that the Germans worſhipped the heroes of their

[w] *Vetere* apud Germanos more, quo pleraſque fœminarum fatidicas, et augeſcente ſuperſtitione arbitrentur deas. Tacit. Hiſt. l. 4. c. 61. — See what the ſame author ſays concerning Velleda, de Mor. Germ. c. 8. In the ſame place he tells us, Olim Auriniam et complures alias venerati ſunt, non adulatione, nec tanquam facerent deas.

[x] Ineſſe quinetiam ſanctum aliquid et providum putant. Id. ib.

[y] See Tacit. Mor. Germ. c. 9. ed. Gronov. tom. 2. p. 602.

own

own country. Nor does his language import ſuch a denial. He is ſpeaking only of the gods acknowledged by the Germans in general, of ſuch of their gods as they held *in common* with the Romans and other nations. For, after ſaying that the Germans owned no other gods but the ſun, Vulcan, and the moon, he adds, *of the reſt they have not ſo much as heard*; that is, the reſt of the gods generally worſhipped in other countries. On this natural ſuppoſition, Cæſar had no view to the gods *peculiar* to the Germans in general, or to any particular tribes of that people. But it is on theſe that Tacitus has enlarged. If we put the accounts of both theſe writers together, the Germans, like the northern nations, had gods both natural and mortal[z]. Let us proceed to conſider,

[z] See what is ſaid above, p. 38, note [s], concerning the northern nations. Had Cæſar thought that the Germans worſhipped only the natural gods, he would have uſed the word *fire*, inſtead of *Vulcan*.

VI.

VI. The caſe of the *Perſians*, to which Dr. Blackwell[a] appeals, and after him Mr. Fell[b].

The account given of the religion of the Perſians by Herodotus is as follows: "They do not erect either ſtatues, or "temples, or altars; and charge with "extreme folly thoſe who do. What I "take to be their reaſon is, that they do "not believe, like the Greeks, that the "gods are *of the race of men*[c]. They aſ- "cend the ſummits of the mountains "when they ſacrifice to Jupiter, by "which name they call the whole circum- "ference of heaven. They ſacrifice alſo "to the ſun and moon, and to the earth, "and to fire, water, and winds: and to "theſe alone they ſacrifice from the be- "ginning. But they have learnt from "the Aſſyrians and Arabians to ſacrifice

[a] Mythol. p. 272.

[b] P. 7.

[c] This meaning of the original word, ἀνθρωποφυιας, will be vindicated in the next chapter, when conſidering the gods of the *Greeks*.

"alſo

" alſo to Urania, or Venus, who by the " Aſſyrians is called Mylitta, by the A- " rabians Alitta, and by the Perſians " Mitra[d].

In juſtice to the great ſagacity of Mr. Fell, I muſt take notice, that he is pleaſed to ſay[e], " that I carefully omit the " account which Herodotus has given " concerning the Perſian objects of wor- " ſhip, becauſe that is a flat contradic- " tion to my repeated aſſertions." The Perſians being a barbarous[f] nation in the

[d] Αγαλματα μεν και νηυς και βωμυς ουκ εν νομω ποιευμενους ιδρυεσθαι, αλλα και τοισι ποιευσι μωρισιν επιφερουσι· ως μεν εμοι δοκεειν, οτι ουκ ανθρωποφυιας ενομισαν τους θεους, καπαπερ οι Ελληνες, ειναι. Οι δε νομιζουσι Δι μεν, επι τα υψηλοτατα των ορεων αναβαινοντες, θυσιας ερδειν, τον κυκλον παντα τον ουρανον Δια καλεοντες· θυουσι δε ηλιω τε και σεληνη, και γη και πυρι και υδατι και ανεμοισι· τουτοισι μεν δη μουνοισι θυουσι αρχηθεν. Επιμεμαθηκασι δε και τη Ουρανιη θυειν, παρα τε Ασσυριων μαθοντες και Αραβιων· καλευσι δε Ασσυριοι την Αφροδιτην, Μυλιτ̃α· Αραβιοι δε, Αλιτ̃α· Περσαι δε, Μιτρην. Herodot. l. 1. c. 131.

[e] P. 7.

[f] Herodotus perpetually ſtiles them *Barbarians*; and the account he gives of them ſhews that they deſerved the title, for a better reaſon than their not being Grecians.

age

age of Herodotus, and there being no peculiar reference to their gods in Scripture[g], they could not be included in my propoſition ſtated above[h]; eſpecially if it be true, that they had no demons, or ſubaltern deities, of any kind; which they could not have, if, as Mr. Fell contends, they worſhipped only the natural gods. The account given of the gods of Perſia by Herodotus has not even the appearance of being a contradiction to my aſſertions concerning thoſe demons, who were the more immediate objects of public worſhip in other countries; and whom I affirmed to be human ſpirits: and conſequently I could not be under any ſuch temptation, as our author ſuppoſes, to omit that account. The fact is, that I[i] cited as much of Herodotus as belonged to the ſubject upon which I was ſpeaking; and even that very part

[g] The doctrine of the two principles alluded to by Iſaiah was not peculiar to the Perſians.

[h] P. 4.

[i] Diſſert. p. 186, 187.

of him which aſſerts, that the *Perſians did not believe that the gods are of the race of men*; which is the only circumſtance on which the pretence of a contradiction could be founded. Without taking at preſent any farther notice of an author, who always loſes ſight of the proper point in diſpute, and who does not ſeem to have attended to the wide difference there is between traducing an opponent and confuting him, I proceed to examine the Perſian objects of worſhip, and the account given of them by Herodotus and other writers.

There is no ſubject on which learned men are more divided in their opinion than this; and therefore I will conſider it at large. Let us diſtinctly inquire, whether the ancient Perſians were idolaters; and, if they were, whether they worſhipped any but the natural gods.

Firſt let us inquire whether the ancient Perſians were idolaters. If we can rely on the authorities produced by Dr. Hyde, in his very learned treatiſe on the religion

religion of the ancient Perſians, it was at firſt derived from Abraham, afterwards reformed by Zoroaſter, and conſiſted in the ſole worſhip of the one true God. To this reformation Sir Iſaac Newton[k] refers, when he ſays, "The "various religions of the ſeveral na- "tions of Perſia, which conſiſted in "the worſhip of their ancient kings, "were aboliſhed, and the worſhip of one "God, at altars, without temples, ſet "up in all Perſia, in the reign of Da- "rius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, by the in- "fluence of Hyſtaſpes and Zoroaſter; "but in a ſhort time afterwards the "Perſians worſhipped the ſun, and the "fire, and dead men, and images, as "the Egyptians, Phenicians, and Chal- "deans, had done before." Now, according to this hypotheſis, the Perſians are to be conſidered as the worſhippers of human ſpirits in all the early ages of the world, excepting the interval between

[k] Short Chronicle, p. 40. Chronol. p. 352.

the reformation of their religion in the reign of Darius, and their ſubſequent relapſe into idolatry; a period too ſhort to be taken into account.

But it has long been ſuſpected, by writers of the firſt repuation[l], that the Arabian and Perſian authors, from whom Dr. Hyde draws his proofs, are too modern to diſcover to us the religion of the old Perſians. And a gentleman well verſed in oriental learning[m] has more lately aſſured the world, "that "the genuine works of Zoroaſter are "loſt; that the pretended fragments "of them, which Dr. Hyde has given "us under the title of *Sadder*, are the "rhymes of a modern prieſt who lived "about three centuries ago[n]; that no "books now exiſt in the ancient dialect "of Perſia[o]; that the Arabian conqueſts "proved a radical ſubverſion of the Per-

[l] Baſnage's Hiſt. of the Jews, b. iv. ch. 12. §. 13.

[m] Richardſon, in his Diſſertation on the languages, literature, and manners, of the eaſtern nations, 2d ed.

[n] P. 12, 25, 26.

[o] P. 13.

"ſian

" ſian religion[p] as well as government;
" and that the principal hiſtorians of Per-
" ſia, now known in Europe, are all ſub-
" ſequent to the Mohammedan æra"[q]. I muſt add, that a gentleman, whoſe ſmalleſt praiſe it is to be the beſt linguiſt of the age, and whoſe ſtudies were for ſome years directed to the improvement of eaſtern literature[r], entertains the ſame opinion of the authorities upon which Dr. Hyde grounds his ſyſtem as the ingenious writer laſt referred to.

As Dr. Hyde's witneſſes are very exceptionable, ſo the facts they atteſt are highly improbable. The learned Dr.

[p] P. 21, 22.

[q] P. 42.

[r] I need not ſay, that I here refer to W. Jones, Eſq. This gentleman did me the honour to ſend me a letter, which he publiſhed in the French language, in the year 1771, and which is now out of print; wherein he ſhews that all the works aſcribed to Zoroaſter are ſpurious. As to the *Sadder*, he ſays, p. 28, Tous les étudians de la litérature orientale ſavaient déjà que les miſérables poëmes appellés *Saddar* et *Ardiviraf Nama* étaient écrits en langue Perſanne moderne, et ſeulement en caractères anciens.

Prideaux[s], though he follows our author in ſeveral particulars, yet, when ſpeaking of Zoroaſter's prophecies of Chriſt, ſays, "All this ſeems to be taken out of the *legendary* writings of the "eaſtern Chriſtians." Many other things related by Dr. Hyde ſeem to be extracted from ſome writings equally legendary. Is it probable, that Abraham was ſent by God to the Perſians, to deliver to them a ſyſtem of religion[t]? Is it credible, that this religion, after it was corrupted, was reſtored by Zoroaſter, and preſerved in it's purity, for a ſucceſſion of ages, by a barbarous people; though a long ſeries of ſtupendous miracles could ſcarce prevent the fundamental principle of it from being loſt among the deſcendents of the pious patriarch?

There is a farther objection againſt Dr. Hyde's account of the Perſian religion, viz. it's being contradicted by the teſtimony of the Greek and Roman wri-

[s] Connexion, v. 1. p. 329, 330. 8vo.

[t] Hyde, ch. 2. p. 28.

ters;

ters; many of whom viſited Perſia at the very time when that religion flouriſhed, and who had certainly the beſt opportunities of information. This was the caſe as to Herodotus and Xenophon in particular. They were withal inquiſitive and candid, and under no temptation to give a falſe account of the Perſian objects of worſhip. Beſides, as after the reign of Xerxes there was a greater intercourſe between the Greeks and Perſians than there had been before[n], they could not have delivered to their countrymen a falſe account of the Perſian gods without being detected and expoſed. I muſt add, that their account of them is much more probable in it's own nature, I mean much more agreeable to what we know with certainty concerning the other heathen nations, and thoſe in particular with which the Perſians were connected, than that given by Dr. Hyde upon the authority of late writers.

[n] Plutarch. Vit. Themiſtocl., p. 126.

For the ſeveral foregoing reaſons, I cannot but give the preference on this occaſion to the teſtimony of the former, eſpecially as it is in a great degree confirmed by the latter. The Greek and Roman writers tell us, that the Perſians worſhipped the ſun[w]. And is not this in a great meaſure admitted by thoſe very authorities which are cited by Dr. Hyde to prove the contrary? It is ſaid[w], indeed, that the worſhip paid to the ſun in Perſia was only of a *civil*, not of a *religious*, nature. But did the common people underſtand the preciſe difference between theſe two kinds of worſhip? Or would they honour with proſtrations, ſalutations, and incenſe[x], what in their conception had no power to interpoſe for their benefit? The diſtinction between civil and religious worſhip is probably made in this caſe, as we know it is in others[y], merely to avoid

[w] See Hyde, c. 4.

[x] And with libations and ſacrifices, according to the Greeks. Hyde, p. 120. ed. 1700.

[y] By the Indians, (as will be ſhewn near the end of the 2d ſection,) and by the Chineſe.

the

the odium of idolatry. The remains of the ancient Perſians, in different parts of the eaſt, are under peculiar temptations to repreſent their worſhip as conſiſtent with the divine unity; becauſe they live amongſt the Mohammedans, who, though indulgent to all other religions, deteſt and perſecute idolaters and the worſhippers of fire[z]. I ſee no ground to doubt, but that the ancient Perſians (as well as others) did worſhip this element, and the ſun as its chief receptacle; which ſeems to be intimated in the very pleaſome have made for them, viz. that they worſhip the ſun only as the *habitation* of the Deity. This, however, is no better an excuſe than what the ancient philoſophers made for that groſſeſt ſpecies of idolatry, the paying religious honours to brute animals. It is evident that, in

[z] Les Mahométans, tolérans pour toutes les autres religions, ſont intolérans pour les idolâtres et les adorateurs du feu; et, ſi quelques familles de ces malheureux trouvèrent le moïen de ſe retirer dans l'Inde, ils ne purent conſerver que quelques traditions imparfaites au ſujet de leurs anciennes loix. Jones's Letter, p. 46.

both

both caſes alike, the worſhip would terminate in its more immediate objects.

Hence many Chriſtians choſe to ſuffer the moſt extreme puniſhment rather than join with the Perſians in their adoration of the ſun[a]. And if others, after having embraced the Goſpel, continued to practiſe ſome of thoſe rites, in honour of this celeſtial luminary[b], to which they had been long accuſtomed, this might proceed from their deſire of avoiding perſecution, or from the ſtrength and inveteracy of their former prejudices. Like cauſes produced ſimilar effects upon the firſt Chriſtian converts; ſome of whom were not eaſily got off from their ſuperſtitious reverence for idols[c]; and others obſerved the law of Moſes, either to avoid the diſpleaſure of the unbelieving Jews, or from a per-

[a] Saporis juſſu Simeon cum multis aliis, quod ſolem adorare recuſaſſent, ultimo ſupplicio adfecti. Sozom. II. 8, 9, 12. Hyde, p. 110.

[b] See Hyde, p. 109.

[c] 1 Cor. viii. 7.

ſuaſion

ſuaſion of it's obligation. Here, in Britain, a learned antiquary[d] informs us, that, after Chriſtianity took place, many continued to worſhip conſecrated ſtones, their former idols. Nay, the fondneſs for human victims remained for a conſiderable time amongſt ſome who had embraced the faith of Chriſt[e].

Having aſſigned the reaſons which induce me to think that the ancient Perſians were idolaters, I proceed to examine, in the ſecond place, whether they worſhipped only the natural gods. Herodotus, in the foregoing extract[f] from him, has been thought to affirm that they had no other gods but theſe. It may, however, be worth while to inquire, whether, notwithſtanding what is advanced by this hiſtorian, the Perſians *might* not worſhip human ſpirits al-

[d] Borlaſe, Ant. of Cornwall, p. 162.

[e] Francos, etſi Chriſtum jam colerent, humanis tamen ad ſuum ævum hoſtiis uſos. Procopius, l. 2. de Bell. Goth. Lipſii not. in Tacit. de Mor. Germ. c. 9. Borlaſe, p. 154.

[f] P. 47.

ſo;

ſo; and whether there be any evidence that they *did* worſhip them. I will endeavour to ſhew,

I. That the Perſians *might* worſhip human ſpirits, notwithſtanding what is contained in the foregoing extract from Herodotus. It was not the deſign of this hiſtorian to give a full account of the religion of the Perſians, but principally to point out ſome remarkable particulars in which it differed from that of Greece. When he ſpeaks of their *rites of worſhip*[g], he ſcarce touches on any but the moſt ſingular of them: and ſo far is he from enumerating all their *gods*, that he has made no mention of Arimanius, who was certainly worſhipped by Xerxes[h]. The Perſians therefore might have both many rites, and many objects, of worſhip, which it did not fall within the deſign of Herodotus to mention in the comparative view which he has here given of their religion.

[g] L. i. c. 132.

[h] Plutarch. Vit. Themiſtoc. p. 126. A.

He

He begins with taking notice of a very ſtriking difference between the religions of the Perſians and the Greeks; the former, contrary to the principles and practice of the latter, having no ſtatues, temples, or altars, and condemning thoſe who had.

In order to account for this difference, he ſays, *he apprehended* the reaſon of it to be, that the Perſians did not believe, as the Greeks did, that the gods were of human deſcent. This he mentions only as his own private opinion, and with ſome degree of heſitation; knowing, it may be preſumed, that the Germans[h] and others had neither temples nor ſtatues, though they worſhipped human ſpirits. But it is more to our preſent purpoſe to obſerve, that the gods of Greece, here ſpoken of, are not the heroes and demons[i] of that country, but

[h] Above, p. 40.

[i] See above, p. 5, note [k]. *Heroes* and *demons* are ſometimes diſtinguiſhed from *gods*, even when the latter, no leſs than the former, were ſuppoſed to have been men.

men

men to whom the title of *gods* belonged eminently and by way of diſtinction; to whom temples, as well as ſtatues and altars, were erected, and who were the objects of the higheſt worſhip. The gods of Perſia, therefore, here contraſted with them, muſt be the principal gods of that country. Now, it was a diſtinction that well deſerved to be mentioned, that the chief objects of worſhip in one country were not believed, as they were in the other, to be of the human race: but it will not follow from hence, that the Perſians paid no religious honours to heroes, to whom there is no reference in this place.

The hiſtorian proceeds to inform us, that they ſacrificed to Jupiter upon the top of mountains; and then enumerates their other natural gods. The Greeks acknowledged the ſame natural gods as the Perſians did; that is, the elements and heavenly bodies. But, *to theſe alone*, the hiſtorian adds, *they* (the Perſians) *ſacrifice from the beginning*. In this

this manner the original words are commonly underſtood; and, if this be their true ſenſe, they point out a farther diſtinction between the religion of Greece and Perſia. Many of the heathen philoſophers taught, that the deified parts and powers of nature were repreſented under the form of men and women[k]; or that the latter were ſymbols of the former. According to this account, the great gods of Greece, to whom Herodotus here refers, were both human perſonages and ſymbolical repreſentations of the natural gods. It was under the former view however that they were conſidered by the people, and were the objects of the public ſacrifices[k]. The victims were offered immediately, not to heaven or the æther, for example, but to Jupiter; who, though often put for heaven or the æther, was a diſtinct deity from it[l]. But, in Perſia, the public ſacrifices, according to our hiſtorian *, were offered immediately

[k] See below, p. 412 et ſeq.

[l] Aſpice hoc ſublime candens, quem invocant omnes Jovem. Quaſi vero quiſquam noſtrum iſtum, potius quam Capitolinum, Jovem appellet. Id. l. 3. c. 4.

* Though I argue all along upon the ſuppoſition of the truth of his account of the great gods of Perſia; yet

diately to Jupiter, under the ſingle idea of his being *the whole circumference of heaven.* Now, though the Perſians ſacrificed to the natural gods *alone*; that is, under their own proper characters, or excluſively of all thoſe human ſymbols which intercepted the public devotion of Greece; yet, beſides theſe natural gods, they might alſo worſhip human ſpirits; juſt as the Greeks had demons and heroes, beſides thoſe great gods which were ſuppoſed by ſome to be ſymbols of the natural. There were many Jupiters; and the Perſians, beſides him whom they called *the circumference of heaven*, might have, one or more, others whom they worſhipped. Suppoſing this to be the caſe, the hiſtorian would not have taken notice of it here, becauſe it was a circumſtance that was not peculiar to

yet it could ſcarce be built upon any certain information from the *magi*, who were far from being leſs ſolicitous than other pagan prieſts to conceal the nature and origin of the great gods. It might be no more than an inference unjuſtly drawn from the Perſians not worſhipping them with ſtatues and temples. Compare the caſe of the Germans, (above, p. 40.) who, like the Perſians, were a Celtic nation. Probably the religion of both was the ſame.

the

the Perſians, but common both to them and the Greeks.

But it deſerves to be conſidered, whether the common tranſlation of the laſt-cited paſſage from Herodotus does truly expreſs the ſenſe of the original, which may very well be rendered, "To theſe "*principally*[m] they ſacrifice from the be-"ginning." Now, they might certainly have other gods beſides thoſe to whom they *principally* ſacrificed. Some think that Herodotus only meant to ſay, that "the Perſians *originally* ſacrificed

[m] Τουτοισι μεν δη μουνοισι. The word μουνος is often uſed as equivalent to *chief* or *principal*. Examples may be found in Horapollinis Hieroglyph. l. i. c. 12. and De Pauw's notes, p. 295. Juſtin ſays, l. i. c. 10. Solem Perſæ unum deum eſſe credunt. But Freinſhemius (in his note on Quintus Curtius, l. iii. c. 3. p. 75. tom. I. ed. Snakenburg) conjectures, that, by *unum deum*, we are not to underſtand *ſolum atque unicum*, ſed potius *unum ex diis*. According to Heſychius, Mithras, or, as he explains it, the ſun, was ο πρωτος θεος, the ſupreme god of the Perſians. Herodotus is certainly the beſt expoſitor of himſelf: now, he ſeems to uſe μουνος for *chief* or *principal*, l. v. c. 7. which will be cited when we come to ſpeak of the Thracians.

" to theſe gods alone." According to every fair conſtruction of Herodotus, the Perſians *might* worſhip human ſpirits.

II. I proceed to ſhew, that they *did* worſhip them. And, if Herodotus himſelf has furniſhed evidence of this point, it will overturn the common explication of the foregoing extract from him.

1. I ſhall begin with obſerving, that the Perſians deified their kings in their mortal ſtate upon earth. We are told, by Herodotus, that they *adored*[n] their king, and attempted to compel ſome Grecians to do the ſame[o]. They put their kings upon the ſame level with their gods. Artabanus, the Perſian, thus addreſſes Themiſtocles: We have many excellent laws, but none comparable to that which requires us *to worſhip the king as the image of the God who preſerves all things*[p]. And Cleo commends

[n] L. 3. c. 86.

[o] L. 7. c. 136.

[p] Προσκυνειν εικονα θεω, τε τα παντα σωζοντος. Plut. Vit. Themiſt. p. 125. See the next note.

the

the cuſtom of the Perſians in deifying their kings, as being both pious and prudent[q]. To their images[r] adoration was demanded, and alſo to their favourites; for Mordecai aſſigns this reaſon for refuſing to pay the ſame honours to Haman which others did, *That he would not worſhip any but God*[s]. The cuſtom of deifying kings was of great antiquity, and obtained in Æthiopia[t], Italy[u], and many other countries, as well as in Perſia.

Now, if the Perſians paid religious honours to their kings in their ſtate of mortality upon earth, would they not continue to pay thoſe honours to

[q] Perſas quidem non pie ſolum, ſed etiam prudenter, reges ſuos inter deos colere. Cleo, ap. Q. Curt. l. 8. c. 5. p. 595. ed. Snak. Briſſonius, here cited, ſays: Quin in hanc uſque diem Perſarum rex pro deo colitur a ſuis, appellaturque dominus, *qui cælum ac ſulciat ſuſtineatque*. Which illuſtrates the language of Artabanus, in note P.

[r] See Philoſtrat. Vit. Apollon. Tyan. l. 1. c. 27. p. 35. ed. Olear.

[s] Apocrypha, Eſther xiii. 14.

[t] Strabo, l. 17. p. 1177, A.

[u] At Rome, Horat. l. 2. ep. 1. v. 25.

them after their ſuppoſed advancement to celeſtial power and dignity? In other countries it was cuſtomary for thoſe, who deified their kings while living, to worſhip them after their death. Why ſhould it be thought that Perſia, ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed by a veneration for her monarchs, was an exception to this general rule?

2. There are direct proofs of the Perſians having mortal gods. Herodotus, immediately after he had enumerated their natural divinities, adds, *But they have learnt from the Aſſyrians and Arabians to ſacrifice alſo to Urania, or Venus.* By this goddeſs we are not to underſtand the moon, as ſome have ſuppoſed[w], becauſe diſtinct mention had been before made of that planet. Strabo[x] likewiſe diſtinguiſhes the goddeſs Venus from the moon. Nor did Herodotus by Urania mean the planet Venus; becauſe the former is diſtinguiſhed from the natural

[w] Letters concerning Mythol. p. 273.

[x] Τιμωσι Σελήνην και Αφροδίτην. P. 1064.

gods

gods of the Perſians, and her worſhip is mentioned as an exception to their general practice. Herodotus probably refers to the *preſident* of the planet Venus, or of the moon. In this view, the worſhip of Venus, as one of their chief deities, was a juſt exception to their rule of ſacrificing to the celeſtial luminaries apart, or by themſelves; for in this inſtance they paid diſtinct worſhip to the preſident of a celeſtial luminary. That the female deity, of whom we are ſpeaking, was worſhipped by the vulgar under a human character, I ſee no ground to doubt[r]. Moſt probably ſhe was the Syrian

[r] There were four Venuſes, according to Cicero, (Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 23.) and the philoſophers allegorized their hiſtory; (ſee Apuleius, Metamorphoſ. l. xi. p. 357, 358.) as they did that of other heathen deities. But the language of Cotta, when expoſing thoſe allegorical explications, plainly ſuppoſes, that the public *opinion* concerning the deities, whoſe hiſtory was converted into allegory, was, that they were deified mortals. — Dicamus igitur, Balbe, oportet contra illos etiam, qui hos deos, ex hominum genere in cœlum tranſlatos, non re, ſed *opinione*, eſſe dicunt, quos auguſte omnes

rian Aſtarte[a], to whom the planet Venus was conſecrated, and of whom there will be occaſion to ſpeak hereafter[a]. In Armenia, Venus was worſhipped under the name of *Anaitis*[b], and repreſented by an image of human form[c]; which ſhews what ideas were formed of her in the eaſt. Here, then, is an inſtance of the

omnes ſanctèque veneramur. Ap. Cicer. Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 21. Amongſt other deities, the four Venuſes are ſpecified, c. 23. And he concludes with obſerving, that the notions entertained of theſe divinities aroſe from old ſtories ſpread in Greece, which, for the credit of religion, ought to be diſcouraged, but which the Stoics rather confirmed, than refuted, by their manner of explaining them, — Atque hæc quidem ejuſmodi ex vetere Græciæ fama collecta ſunt: quibus intelligis reſiſtendum eſſe, ne perturbentur religiones. Veſtri autem non modo hæc non refellunt, verum etiam confirmant, interpretando quorſum quidque pertineat. Ibid.

[a] Quarta, (ſcil. Venus,) Syria, Tyroque concepta, quæ Aſtarte vocatur. Id. ib.

[a] Under the article, *Phœnicians*, in the 2d ch.

[b] Strabo introduces the mention of this fact, by ſaying, Ἀφαντα μεν ουν τα των Περσων ιερα και Μηδων και Αρμενιοι τετιμηκασι. L. xi. p. 805.

[c] Clemens Alexandr. Cohort. ad Gentes, p. 57. ed. Potteri, with the notes of the learned editor.

worſhip

worſhip of a human perſonage in Perſia, who ſeems to have been raiſed to the ſame rank with the natural gods.

Amanus and Anandratus were demons of Perſia[d], of human origin[e], who were worſhipped not only in their own country, but alſo in Cappadocia, where there were many temples of the Perſian gods *. We are told by Strabo, in moſt expreſs terms, that the Perſians *celebrated the exploits of their gods and illuſtrious men*[f]. Theſe teſtimonies are confirmed by, and ſerve to confirm, the deſcription which Quintus Curtius has given of the chariot of Darius. It was

[d] Το της Αναιτιδος, και το των συμβωμων θεων, ιερον ιδρυσαντο, Αμανῳ και Ανανδρατῳ, Περσικων δαιμονων. Strabo, l. xi. p. 779. See alſo l. xv. p. 1065, 1066.

[e] Alexander ab Alexandro, tom. 2. p. 446. after ſpeaking of Amanus and Anandratus, and other heathen gods, adds, — Qui omnes ex hominibus poſt funera divinitate donati, diique indigites poſt conſecrationem habiti ſant.

* Πολλα δε και των Περσικων θεων ιερα. Strabo, p. 1065. See p. 1066.

[f] Εργα θεων τε, και ανδρων των αριστων, αναδιδαντες. Strabo, l. 15. p. 1066.

adorned with the images of the gods in ſilver and gold; and upon the axle-tree were two images of gold, — the one repreſenting Ninus, the other Belus[g], This Belus is ſuppoſed to be the Nimrod of the Bible, whom the Perſians ranked amongſt the gods; and, believing him to be tranſlated into the ſtars, called him Orion[h]. We may proceed farther, and obſerve,

3. That the Perſians worſhipped the gods of other nations that were of mortal origin. According to Herodotus, when Xerxes arrived with his army on the banks of the Scamander, *he ſacrificed a thouſand oxen to the Ilian Minerva, and the*

[g] Utrumque currus latus deorum ſimulacra ex auro argentoque expreſſa decorabant: — Jugum, ex quo eminebant duo aurea ſimulacra cubitalia, quorum alterum Nini, alterum Beli, gerebat effigiem. Q. Curt. l. 3. c. 3. p. 77. ed. Snaken. — Freinſhemius obſerves, Per Ninum Aſſyriæ, per Belum Babyloniæ, imperium conjunctum innuebant currus Darii artifices.

[h] —— Τον Νιβρωδ γιγαντα τον την Βαβυλωνιαν κτισαντα, ον λεγουσιν οι Περσαι αποθεωθεντα και γενομενον εν τοις αστροις τω ωρανω, οϊλινα καλουσιν Ωριωνα. Chronicon Alexandrinum, p. 84.

magi

magi poured out libations to the heroes[i]. The ſame Perſian monarch ſhewed a religious reverence for the temple of Athamas[k]. Xenophon teſtifies, that Cyrus implored the aſſiſtance of the heroes, the guardians of Media; and that he propitiated the gods and guardian heroes of Aſſyria[l], and other countries[m]. Theſe facts confirm the teſtimonies that have been produced to ſhew, that they acknowledged mortal gods. They likewiſe ſerve to demonſtrate, that, when the Perſians under Xerxes[n] burnt the temples and images of the Grecian gods and heroes, this did not proceed from a contempt of thoſe gods and heroes, but from their diſapprobation of temples and images. In

[i] Τῃ Αθηναιῃ τῃ Ιλιαδι ἐθυσε βους χιλιας· χοαις δε οι μαγοι τουτοισι ἡρωσι ἐχεαντο. Herodot. l. 7. c. 43.

[k] Και το τεμενος ἐσεβετο. Id. l. 7. c. 197.

[l] Συμπαρεκαλει δε και ἡρωας γης Μηδιας οικητορας και κηδημονας. —— Την ιλασκετο χοαις, και θεους θυσιαις, και ἡρωας Ασσυριας οικητορας ευμενιζετο. Xenophon, de Inſtit. Cyri, l. 3. c. 3. §. 11.

[m] Particularly of Media. Id. l. 8. c. 3. §. 11.

[n] Herodot. l. 8. c. 143.

confirmation

confirmation of all that has been offered, we may obſerve,

4. That, notwithſtanding a difference in ſome particulars, there was a general agreement between the religion of the Perſians and that of the other idolatrous nations. This, excluſive of all teſtimony, is very probable in itſelf: for, the Perſians being the ſame people with the Celtes[o], there could ſcarcely be an eſſential difference between them with reſpect to the leading principles of religion. They are repreſented by Herodotus[p] as being prone to imitate the manners of foreigners, particularly the Greeks; and this diſpoſition was likely to extend it's influence beyond the affairs of civil life, and to make them conformiſts in religion. What is ſo probable in theory is confirmed by facts. The Perſians, like other nations, worſhipped the natural gods[q],

[o] See Pelloutier's Hiſt. of the Celtes, v. 1. p. 19.

[p] L. 1. c. 135.

[q] See above, p. 47.

and

and rivers in particular[r]. Their having no covered temples, nor any images of the gods, were cuſtoms that were not peculiar to them, though they diſtinguiſhed them from the Greeks; and hardly was any practice more common than to ſacrifice upon the tops of mountains.

In many other reſpects we find a remarkable reſemblance between the theology of the Perſians and that of other nations. As the Greeks, the Egyptians, the Phenicians, the Chaldeans, and other ancient nations, had their theogonies, or accounts of *the generation* of the

[r] It has been thought inconſiſtent with the care the Perſians took to preſerve the purity of the elements, (ſee Strabo, p. 1066.) that, after ſacrificing white horſes to a river, they ſhould throw their carcaſes into it: a circumſtance related by Herodotus, l. 7. c. 113. and which ſome have uſed to diſparage his teſtimony. But the carcaſes of theſe horſes were perhaps embalmed: which ſome think Herodotus aſſerts, c. 114. Beſides, the horſes were conſecrated to a religious purpoſe. It was unlawful to throw a carcaſe into the fire; but this did not extend to ſacrifices. Hyde, p. 94. Fire and water were the principal objects of their worſhip, according to Strabo, l. 15. p. 1065.

gods,

gods, ſo likewiſe had the Perſians[s]. Now the ancient theogonies, and the Grecian in particular, mix with the phyſical an hiſtorical relation of the genealogy of the gods, and record the births even of thoſe they ſtile *always exiſting, and immortal*[t]; ſuppoſing them to be generated from pre-exiſtent principles. This ill agrees with the ſuppoſition of the Perſians worſhipping one or more gods, under the character of underived and eternal beings.

According to Herodotus[u], when Perſeus, the ſon of Jupiter and Danae, was with Cepheus, the ſon of Belus, he married his daughter, Andromeda; and by her had a ſon, whom he named Perſeus, from whom the Perſians took their name. Now is not this agreeable

[s] At their ſacrifices, one of the magi, ſtanding up, παραιδει θεογονιαν, theogoniam accinit. Herodot. l. 1. c. 132. Compare Diogenes Laertius, procem. ſegm. 9. where it is ſaid, upon the authority of Hecatæus, that, according to the magi, *the gods were begotten.*

[t] Heſiod. Theogon. v. 106.

[u] L. 7. c. 61.

to

to the genealogy of the gods and heroes in other nations?

As the Perſians worſhipped the tutelary gods of other countries, ſo they had ſuch deities of their own[w]; agreeably to that principle, common to all the idolatrous nations, that each of them had it's peculiar guardian deity. And the guardian deities of kingdoms were ſuppoſed to

[w] Xerxes thus addreſſes the Perſians: Νυν δε διαβαινωμεν επευξαμενοι τοισι θεοισι τοι Περσιδα γην λελογχασι. Herodot. l. 7. c. 53. To one or more of theſe tutelary deities they ſeem to have given the name of Jupiter: for, beſides the Jupiter whom they conceived of as *the whole circumference of heaven*, Xenophon ſpeaks of another who was a local deity, king and patron of Perſia. Κυρος εθυε Δι βασιλει. De Inſtitut. Cyri, l. 3. c. 3. §. 11. Δι πατρωω εθυε. Id. ib. Vide l. 8. c. 7. Probably for him it was that a chariot was provided, upon occaſion of Xerxes's expedition againſt Greece. Herodot. l. 7. c. 40. The chariot was drawn by eight white horſes: an honour peculiar to Jupiter amongſt the Romans. By the Jupiter, ſpoken of by Xenophon, ſome ſuppoſe we are to underſtand Belus. Xerxes alſo ſeems to have been called Jupiter: for Themiſtocles told him, that he was directed by Jupiter of Dodona to go to a perſon of the ſame name with the god, ομωνυμον τω Θεω, which he aſſigns as the reaſon of coming to Xerxes; though Plutarch might only mean, that each was called *the great king*. Plutarch. Vit. Themiſtoclis, p. 126. A.

be

be the ſpirits of thoſe illuſtrious men by whom they were founded or inlarged. This is a full proof of the Perſians worſhipping human ſpirits, as the Greeks and other nations did. At the ſame time it accounts for Mardonius's uſing *the Grecian rites of worſhip*[x].

As a farther proof of the great conformity between the theology of Perſia and that of other idolatrous nations, it may be obſerved, that the Perſians ſacrificed to *Thetis* and the *Nereids*; and that the reaſon of their ſacrificing to the former was their learning from the *Ionians*, that ſhe was taken away by Peleus out of this country, and that all the coaſt of Sepias is dedicated to her and the reſt of the Nereids[y]. Many learned men have ſuppoſed, that Nereus was a prince, and the Nereids princeſſes, who had improved navigation; and conſequently that they were human perſonages: which is much confirmed by the rapture of Thetis,

[x] Ελληνικοισι ιροισι εχρεετο. Herodot. l. 9. c. 36.
[y] Herodot. l. 7. c. 191.

one

one of the Nereids. The worſhip, therefore, paid to theſe deities by the Perſians, is not only a proof of the great conformity between their theology and that of the Grecians, but is alſo a new inſtance, furniſhed by Herodotus himſelf, of the Perſians ſacrificing to human ſpirits.

Too nearly did the Perſians conform to the other idolatrous nations in the moſt barbarous acts of worſhip. During a tempeſt the magi offered up human victims[z], as well as endeavoured to charm the winds by magical enchantments. We are told, by Plutarch, that Ameſtris, the wife of Xerxes, buried twelve people alive to Pluto on her own

[z] Herodot. l. 7. c. 191. I have followed Weſſeling's tranſlation of the original words, ἐντομα τε ποιεύντες. The phraſe does not neceſſarily import the ſpecies of the ſacrifice ſpoken of; but it is applied to human victims by Herodotus, l. 2. c. 119. and is ſo underſtood here by H. Stephens, tom. III. p. 1401. as well as by Weſſeling. See the note of the latter on Herodot. l. 2. c. 119. Every one will recollect that line of Virgil, Æn. II. 116.

Sanguine placaſti ventos, et virgine cæſa.

account.

account[a]. And from Herodotus we learn, that ſhe cauſed fourteen children of the beſt families in Perſia to be interred alive, as a gratification to the god ſaid to be beneath the earth[b]. The ſame hiſtorian informs us, that, when the army of Xerxes came to a place called the *Nine Ways*, the magi took nine of the ſons and daughters of the inhabitants, and buried them alive, *as the manner of the Perſians is*[b]. It has been ſuggeſted, but without any good reaſon, that Plutarch and Herodotus have reproached them unjuſtly with offering human ſacrifices. But ſuch ſacrifices were common amongſt the ancients, and fixed no peculiar ſtigma on the Perſians[c]. As to the cuſtom of burying

[a] De Superſtit. p. 171, D. Αμηστρις δε, η Ξερξου γυνη, δωδεκα κατωρυξεν ανδρωπους ζωντας υπερ αυτης τω Αδη. In his Iſis & Oſir. p. 369, E. he ſays, the Perſians invoked Pluto.

[b] Herod. l. 7. c. 114. Comp. l. 3. c. 35.

[c] In confirmation of the authorities produced above, to ſhew that the Perſians were chargeable with offering human ſacrifices, I would obſerve, that, when the Grecians

rying human victims alive, it obtained amongſt the Romans[d]. The facts, therefore, laſt ſtated, like many mentioned before, concerning the Perſians, are direct proofs, not only of a general correſpondence between their religion and that of other nations, but alſo of their worſhipping dead men: for amongſt this number Pluto[e] muſt be reckoned.

The ſame concluſion may be drawn from their necromancy[f], or divination by conſulting the dead. This ſuperſtition, which is ſuppoſed to have had it's

cians adopted the Worſhip of Mithras, they offered him human victims. Photius, in Vita Athanaſii, p. 1446. Hyde, p. 112.

[d] Liv. l. II. c. 57.

[e] See Letters to Worthington, p. 37, 42.

[f] Quod genus divinationis Varro a Perſis dicit allatum, quo et ipſum Numam, et poſtea Pythagoram philoſophum, uſum fuiſſe commemorant: ubi adhibito ſanguine etiam inferos perhibet ſciſcitari; et νεκυομαντειαν Græce dicit vocari: quæ, ſive hydromantia, ſive necromantia, dicatur, id ipſum eſt, ubi videntur mortui divinare. Auguſt. Civ. Dei, l. 7. c. 35. How ill does the account given of Zoroaſter, by the modern writers cited by Dr. Hyde, agree with this very ancient teſtimony of the learned Varro!

riſe in Perſia[g], was very generally practiſed in the heathen nations; and it was a ſpecies of idolatry which had for it's object the ſpirits of departed men. Not to deſcend into more particulars, Agathias quotes very ancient hiſtorians, (Beroſus the Babylonian, Athenocles, and Symmachus,) as affirming, that the Perſians worſhipped of old Jupiter and Saturn, and all the other celebrated gods of Greece[h], but under different names.

It is time to cloſe this article, which has been drawn out to ſo great a length, on account of it's ſingular importance, and the very different view generally given of it by learned men. From all that has been offered, it appears, that, if we clear the Perſians from the charge of idolatry upon the evidence produced by Dr. Hyde, we adopt an

[g] Magic, according to Pliny, (l. 30, c. 1.) was the invention of Zoroaſter.

[h] Το μεν γαρ παλαιον, Δια τε και Κρονον, και τουτους δη απαντας τους παρ' Ελλησι θρυλλουμενους τιμων θεους. Agathias, l. 2. p. 58. ed. Lugd. Bat. 1594.

hypotheſis

hypotheſis very improbable in itſelf, and ill ſupported. At the ſame time we contradict the teſtimony of numerous unexceptionable witneſſes to the facts here ſtated; the truth of which might even have been preſumed from their own internal credibility, conſidering the diſpoſition and ſituation of the Perſians. — It farther appears, that the difference between them and the Greeks, pointed out by Herodotus, is not ſo conſiderable as has been ſuppoſed; and very probably did not ſubſiſt for any great length of time after the age of that hiſtorian[1]. This difference was perfectly conſiſtent with a general agreement in other reſpects, and particularly with the deification of human ſpirits. Indeed, the ancient Perſians are one of the laſt nations which can be ſuſpected of not worſhipping the ſpirits

[1] We learn from Strabo, p. 1065, that in Cappadocia, where there was a great number of the magi, there were alſo many *temples* of the Perſian gods, and a *ſtatue* of Omanus, p. 1066, a Perſian demon, p. 779. See above, p. 71. note *.

of illuſtrious men, if it be true, as is generally allowed, that they aſſerted the exiſtence of divine genii, who aſſumed for a time the human nature.

The foregoing obſervations are not offered as a vindication of any thing I had formerly advanced on the ſubject of the heathen gods, but are the reſult of an unbiaſſed inquiry. Whether they are juſt, others are more able to determine.

VII. Concerning the *Arabians*, Mr. Fell[k] (copying Dr. Blackwell[l]) ſays, that "they acknowledged no other gods "beſides the ſun and moon." In proof of this aſſertion we are referred to Herodotus. But the text of this hiſtorian ought to have been given the reader, and not merely the comment upon it. His words are[m], *They acknowlege no other gods than Dionyſus* (or Bacchus) *and Urania:*

[k] P. 8.

[l] Mythol. p. 273.

[m] Διονυσον δε θεον μουνον και την Ουρανιην ηγεονται ειναι. — Ονομαζεσι δε τον μεν Διονυσον, Ουροταλτ· την δε Ουρανιην, Αλιλατ. Herodot. l. 3. c. 8.

— "they

— " they call the former *Urotalt*, and " the latter *Alilat*."

Had Mr. Fell, inſtead of tranſcribing a modern author, conſulted Herodotus, he would have found that this hiſtorian could not, by Bacchus, underſtand the ſun, becauſe he ſpeaks of it as no improbable conjecture of the Arabians, that the cinnamon grew in the countries in which Bacchus *was educated*[n]. From other writers we have certain information, that Bacchus was an illuſtrious conqueror[o]. Strabo[p] in particular informs us, that Alexander, finding the Arabians had only *two* gods, (viz. Jupiter and Bacchus,) thought he had a right to be worſhipped as *a third*,

[n] Id. c. 111. Plutarch ſpeaks of the *nurſes* of Bacchus. Vit. Camilli, p. 131. C.

[o] Sir Iſaac Newton (Chronol. p. 98, 99.) takes Seſac to be the Bacchus of the Arabians, and their Cœlus, or Uranus, or Jupiter Uranius, to be the ſame king of Egypt with his father Hammon, according to Lucan:

Quamvis Æthiopum populis, Arabumque beatis
Gentibus, atque Indis, unus ſit Jupiter Ammon.

[p] Lib. 16. p. 1076.

provided he conquered, and reſtored their former liberty. Arrian[q] confirms the teſtimony of Strabo; telling us, that the Arabians worſhipped only Uranus and Dionyſus[r]; and aſſigning the reaſon of their worſhipping the latter, viz. *the fame of leading an army into India*[s]; in which reſpect, he adds, Alexander did not think himſelf inferior to him, and therefore pleaded he had an equal right to their worſhip. As to the Urania or Alilat of the Arabs, whom Herodotus joins with Bacchus, ſince the latter has been proved to be a human perſonage, we may reaſonably conclude that ſuch alſo the former was. She is probably the ſame with the Alitta ſpoken of above[t], and conſequently no other than the Syrian Aſtarte; of whom farther mention will be made

[q] De Expedit. Alexand. p. 300. ed. Gronovii.

[r] Comp. p. 85. note [o].

[s] Κατα δοξαν της ες Ινδους στρατιας.

[t] P. 48, 68.

in

in the ſequel. Amongſt the gods of this people, Tertullian [x] reckons Dyſares; Suidas, Mars, (which ſignifies *the valiant*[y];) and Porphyry[z], Dumatius, to whom they annually offered a human victim.

If you chooſe to ſet aſide the authority of the Greeks, and to rely rather on the oriental writers; one well acquainted with them has given us the names of ſome of their antediluvian idols, or what were ſaid to be ſuch, which the Arabs acknowleged as gods, having been men of great piety and merit in their times[a]. And, though the idols were not ſuppoſed to be *ſui juris*, (or gods in their own natural right, but only *companions* of God,) yet they offered ſacrifices and other oblations to them as well as to God, who

[x] Apol. c. 24.

[y] Sir Iſ. Newton's Chronol. p. 98. See above concerning Mars, p. 27, 35.

[z] De Abſtinent. l. 2. §. 56.

[a] Sale's Koran, preliminary Diſc. p. 19. qto.

was often put off with the leaſt portion[b]. Somewhat of this kind we obſerve in popiſh countries. The roſary aſcribed to the Virgin Mary conſiſts of a hundred and fifty *Ave-Marias*, and only fifteen *Pater-noſters*.

Should it be here objected, that the only gods of the Arabs taken notice of in the book of Job[c] are the ſun and moon, and therefore that theſe were the ſole objects of idolatrous worſhip in the age in which that book was written; I anſwer, that, even ſuppoſing this to be the caſe in the land of Uz, where Job lived, it will not follow from hence that it was the ſame every where elſe. Nay, had this been the caſe univerſally in the age here ſpoken of, yet it might be quite otherwiſe in ſucceeding ages. According to a late writer[d], the deſcription of idolatry in the book of Job is of greater antiquity than that given by Moſes. But the queſ-

[b] Id. p. 16.
[c] Ch. 31, 26.
[d] Fell, p. 36.

tion

tion agitated in the Diſſertation concerned only the gods of the *Heathens*; that is, the nations contradiſtinguiſhed from the Iſraelites; a diſtinction that could not take place before the time of Moſes, when the Iſraelites were firſt formed into a nation. The queſtion had no relation to any times, or countries, but thoſe in which ſome demons were acknowledged as a diſtinct order of deities from the heavenly bodies. But, after all, the language of Job neither aſſerts, nor implies, that there were no other objects of idolatrous worſhip in his age or in his country beſides the ſun and moon. When he was aſſerting his own freedom from idolatry, he naturally obſerved that he was not chargeable even with the moſt ſpecious and alluring kind of it; that neither *the ſun when it ſhined, nor the moon walking in brightneſs*, had tempted him to pay them any religious honours. So that the occaſion led him to ſpecify the ſun and moon rather than any other objects of idolatrous worſhip; though there

there might be in the land of Uz, even at the early period when he is ſuppoſed to have lived, many ſuch, both other celeſtial luminaries and human ſpirits. And it is with peculiar impropriety that the language of Job is urged to overturn the teſtimonies to the worſhip of dead men and women in other countries and in later times.

VIII. Mr. Fell[e] tells us, that "the "inhabitants of Meroë in Æthiopia "worſhipped no other gods than Jupi-"ter and Bacchus; that is, the hea-"vens and the ſun." This writer ſhould have ſaid, "In this manner is Herodo-"tus explained by Dr. Blackwell"[f]. What the hiſtorian really ſays is, that the inhabitants of Meroë worſhipped no other gods than Jupiter and Bacchus, and had an oracle of Jupiter[g]: a plain proof that Jupiter here denotes a human

[e] P. 8.

[f] Mythol. p. 274.

[g] Διὰ θεῶν καὶ Διόνυσον μούνους σέβονται· —— καὶ σφι μαντήιον Διὸς κατεστηκε. Herodot. l. 2. c. 29.

ſpirit,

ſpirit. In the opinion of Sir Iſaac Newton [h], theſe two gods were Jupiter Ammon and Oſiris, according to the language of Egypt. We are informed by Strabo, that the *Æthiopians* had both *an immortal*, and *a mortal, god* [i]; that they commonly deified their benefactors and perſons of royal birth [k]; that they regarded their kings as *the common ſaviours and preſervers of all* [l]; and even worſhipped them as gods while living [m]. The inhabitants of Meroë in particular wor-

[h] Chronol. p. 213.

[i] Θεον δε νομιζουσι, τον μεν αθανατον —— τον δε θνητον. Strabo, l. 17. p. 1177, 1178.

[k] P. 1178. Ως δ' επιπολυ τους ευεργετας και βασιλικως θεους νομιζουσι.

[l] Και τουτων τους μεν βασιλεας κοινους απαντων μεν σωτηρας και φυλακας. Ib.

[m] Σεβονται δ' ως θεους τους βασιλεας, κατακλειστους οντας και οικουρους το πλεον. P. 1177. — This is confirmed by the teſtimony of Diodorus Siculus, who ſays, (l. 3. p. 177. ed. Weſſeling.) that, as ſoon as the king was choſen, the people worſhipped him as a god: Ευθυς δε και προσκυνει και τιμα καθαπερ θεον.

ſhipped

ſhipped *Hercules, Pan, and Iſis, with another foreign deity*[n].

Here the reader may pauſe a moment, and review the ground he has been treading. The heathen gods were of two ſorts; the conſtituent parts and principles of the world, and demons. The Heathens aſſerted the exiſtence of demons of a celeſtial origin; but the Diſſertation undertook to prove, that ſuch demons, as were the more immediate objects of the eſtabliſhed worſhip in certain nations, were natives of the earth. We have ſeen[o] what induſtry a late writer exerted to diſguiſe this propoſition; let us now conſider, whether he attacks it with judgement and ſucceſs, or even took his aim aright. The propoſition was explained concerning the *poliſhed* nations of the world; but the gentleman

[n] Οι δ' εν Μεροη, και Ηρακλεα, και Πανα, και Ισιν, στρατευονται, προς αλλω τινι βαρβαρικω. Strabo, l. 17. p. 1178. This foreign god could not be either an elementary or ſidereal deity, any more than Hercules, or Pan, or Iſis.

[o] P. 11-17.

draws

draws his objections from the ſuppoſed caſe of *Barbarians*, and the greateſt ſavages. The propoſition reſpected only thoſe nations in which, beſides the natural gods, demons alſo, of one kind or other, were worſhipped; but the gentleman undertakes to confute it by the caſe of thoſe people who, according to his account of them, had no demons at all. Had his facts been true, they would have been foreign from the point.

But the facts which he alleges are not true. There is poſitive evidence, that, out of the eight fore-mentioned nations, which he affirms acknowledged only the natural gods, ſeven * worſhipped human ſpirits. Nay, ſome of them had no other deities but theſe [p]. He not only adopts Dr. Blackwell's peculiar interpretations without acknowledging his obligation, but copies his miſtakes; which is a ſure proof that he took every thing upon truſt, and had himſelf no know-

* The caſe of the Maſſagetes alone is doubtful. P. 28.

[p] P. 32.

ledge

ledge of his ſubject. When Mr. Fell deſerts his guide, he is far from appearing to greater advantage: for then, inſtead of miſinterpreting ancient authors, we find him boldly affirming facts that are falſe, without producing any teſtimony to ſupport them, as in the caſe of the Goths; or appealing to the teſtimony of writers who contradict their truth, as in the caſe of the Getes. Such is this gentleman's manner of writing! It does equal credit to his candour, his judgement, and his learning.

SECT. II.

Shewing, from the teſtimony of the Heathens, that many other barbarous nations, beſides thoſe ſpecified in the preceding ſection, paid divine honours to deceaſed men.

THOUGH, to avoid being tedious, I ſhall purpoſely omit many inſtances of the worſhip of human ſpirits in

in ſome of the barbarous nations paſſed over by a late writer, yet the proofs of it in others, that will be here produced, added to thoſe recited in the preceding ſection, will be ſufficient to ſhew how *generally* it prevailed in the continents of Africa, Europe, and Aſia.

I. I ſhall begin with the mention of ſeveral barbarous nations in *Africa*, in which kings and heroes were ranked amongſt the gods.

Under the term, *Æthiopia*, the ancients comprehended a large part of Middle Africa, with as much of the ſouthern part of Africa as was then known. In this extenſive country, and particularly at Meroë, the metropolis of it, the inhabitants deified their princes and benefactors; as was ſhewn above[q].

There is a paſſage in Herodotus, (overlooked by Dr. Blackwell, and conſequently not noticed by Mr. Fell, though more to his purpoſe than any other,) in which this hiſtorian, when ſpeaking of

[q] P. 90, 91, 92.

ſome

ſome of the Libyan nomades, ſays, *they ſacrifice to no other gods than the ſun and moon*[r]. He adds, *to theſe all the Libyans ſacrifice.* It is here taken notice of, as a very ſingular circumſtance, that ſome of the tribes of Libya worſhipped the ſun and moon alone; which ſhews that the practice of the other tribes was different. According to the ſame author, the *Libyans* always worſhipped Neptune[s], who was the ſon of Pontus[t], and is thought to have been originally of Phenicia, and to have ſettled afterwards upon the ſea-coaſts of Libya. Many writers confirm the opinion of his being a human perſonage[u]. Pſaphon was deified by the Libyans, for teaching birds to ſing theſe words, *The great god Pſaphon*[w]. Thoſe Libyans, who dwelt about the lake Tri-

[r] Herodot. l. 4. c. 188.

[s] L. 2. c. 50.

[t] Sanchoniathon, ap. Euſeb. Præp. Ev. l. 1. p. 38.

[u] Diodor. Sic. l. 5. p. 386. ed. Weſſeling. Lactant. Div. Inſt. l. 1. c. 10.

[w] Maxim. Tyr. Diſſert. 19.

tonis,

tonis, ſacrificed to Triton as well as Neptune, and principally to Minerva [x].

The *Augilites* had no other gods but the manes, according to Pomponius Mela [y], whoſe teſtimony is confirmed by Pliny [z]. The inhabitants of *Cyrene* worſhipped their king Battus, the founder of their kingdom [a]. In *Africa Propria*, which lay between Cyrenaica and Mauritania, Mopſus, king of the Argives, was admitted into the number of the gods [b]. The *Tyrian* Eliſſa, the founder

[x] Herodot. l. 4. c. 188. Concerning Minerva, ſee Euſeb. Præp. Ev. p. 38.

[y] Augilæ manes tantum deos putant; per eos dejerant; eos ut oracula conſulunt; precatique quæ volunt, ubi tumulis incubuere, pro reſponſis ferunt ſomnia. Pomp. M. l. 1. c. 8.

[z] Augilæ inferos tantum colunt. Pliny, l. 5. c. 8. Compare what Herodotus ſays of the Naſamones, l. 4. c. 172. and Tertullian, de Anima, c. 57.

[a] Herodot. l. 4. c. 161.

[b] Quippe tantum eos deos appellant, qui, ex eodem numero juſte ac prudenter vitæ curriculo gubernato, pro numine poſtea ab hominibus proditi, fanis et cæremoniis vulgo advertuntur: ut in Bœotia Amphiaraus, in Africa Mopſus, in Ægypto Oſiris, alius aliubi gentium, Æſculapius *ubique*. Apuleius, de Deo Socrat. p. 689, 690. tom. 2. ed. Delph.

of *Carthage*, was worſhipped in that city, as long as it remained unconquered [c]. In the ſame city a temple was erected to Æſculapius [d]. The Carthaginians alſo ſacrificed to Amilcar [e]. We are here more directly examining the teſtimony of the Heathens themſelves concerning their own gods; otherwiſe I might take notice, that Chriſtian writers inform us, that the *Mauritanians* worſhipped their kings [f].

The *Atlantians*, a people who inhabited the weſtern parts of Africa, boaſted that their country was the birthplace of the gods [g]. Their firſt king, Uranus, or Cœlus, whoſe name was

[c] Quamdiu Carthago invicta fuit, pro dea culta eſt. Juſtin. l. 18. c. 6.

[d] Strabo, l. 17, p. 1189.

[e] Herodot. l. 7. c. 167.

[f] Unicuique etiam provinciæ et civitati ſuus deus eſt; ut Syriæ Aſtarte, ut Arabiæ Diſares, ut Noricis Belenus, ut Africæ Cæleſtis, ut Mauritaniæ reguli ſui. Tertull. Apol. c. 24. — Hac ſcilicet ratione conſecraverunt et Mauri reges ſuos. Lactant. l. 1. c. 15.

[g] Diodor. Sic. l. 3. p. 224.

given

given to heaven, received divine honours after his death [h]; and ſo alſo did his wife Titæa, and ſhe was called *Gee*, or *the earth* [h]. Their daughter, Baſilea, married Hyperion, her brother, and by him had two children, Helion and Selene: names that from them were given to the ſun and moon, and under which they received the honours of thoſe celeſtial luminaries [i]. Baſilea was worſhipped under the title of the great mother of the gods, on account of the care ſhe took of the education of her brothers and ſiſters, the *Titans*; one of whom, Atlas, was worſhipped in the ſtar that bears his name; and another, Saturn, was the father of the Jupiter who was ſurnamed *Olympian*. They allow, that there was another Jupiter, the brother of Uranus, and king of Crete [k].

To the nations of Africa that worſhipped human ſpirits, already taken

[h] P. 225.
[i] P. 226.
[k] P. 229, 230.

notice of, the Egyptians might be added: but their caſe will more properly fall under conſideration in the next chapter.

II. As to *Europe*, it will not be improper to begin with obſerving, that this continent was by ſome called *Celtica*; a name which it derived from the Celtes, the deſcendents of the Cimbri, part of whom came from Babylon into the weſtern parts of the world. Under the term, Celtes, were comprehended all thoſe nations which were ſometimes diſtinguiſhed by the name of Scythians, Celto-Scythians, Getæ, Gallacians, Gallogrecians, Celtiberians, Teutones, Germans, and Gauls. They were ſpread, from the ſea-ſhores of Britain and Gaul, as far eaſt as the Palus Mæotis, at the extremity of the Euxine ſea; and from the ſouthernmoſt parts of Spain to the northern ſea, which lies off Archangel in Ruſſia[1]. And, if we except the ſouthern

[1] See *The Antiquities of Cornwall*, by the very learned and judicious Dr. Borlaſe, book 1. ch. 4. p. 14. and compare

ſouthern parts of Italy, Greece, and the iſles of the Ægean ſea, all Europe may be juſtly ſaid to have been peopled by the ancient Cimbri, or (as they were ſoon afterwards called) Celtæ[m].

It has been ſhewn already, that dead men were worſhipped by many nations of the Celtes, both in Aſia and Europe, and particularly by the Scythians, the Getes, the Goths, and Germans. Now, it ſeems very reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the other Celtic nations worſhipped the ſame gods, or at leaſt did not deſert the general principle of deifying their kings and heroes, maintained by thoſe from whom they were deſcended; eſpecially as it is well known that the Heathens in

compare Pezron's *Antiquities of Nations*, book 1. and the Ancient Univerſal Hiſtory, v. 6. ch. 12. ſect. 1. 8vo. ed. 1747.

[m] Pezron endeavours to ſhew, that ſeveral nations of Greece and Italy were deſcendents of the Titans, whom he takes to be the ſame with the Celtæ. Book 1. But theſe countries and the iſlands of the Ægean ſea were peopled from the Syrian continent, according to Dr. Borlaſe.

general were very tenacious of the religion of their anceſtors. Upon inquiry, it will appear, that the religion of all theſe nations was, in that eſſential point which I have been endeavouring to eſtabliſh, one and the ſame.

The Celtes, under the title of Iberians and Celtiberians, inhabited the country now called *Spain*[n]. The Accitani[o], a people of this country, worſhipped an image of Mars, who could be no other than the god of the ſame name amongſt the Germans[p], and the Odhen of the Goths[q]. The Luſitanians alſo ſacrificed to Mars[r]. The Mercury (or Teutates) of the Iberians was the ſame with him who was worſhipped under that name by the Gauls, who will be ſpoken of in the ſequel. A tem-

[n] Pliny, l. 3. c. 1.

[o] Accitani, Hiſpanà gens, ſimulachrum Martis, radiis ornatum, maxima religione celebrant, Neton vocantes. Macrob. Sat. l. 1, c. 19.

[p] Above, p. 42.

[q] P. 35.

[r] Strabo, l. 3. p. 232.

ple

ple was erected at Gades, or Cadiz, both to the Egyptian and Theban Hercules, but no ſtatues[s], as we learn from Philoſtratus[t] and Silius Italicus[u]. Even their god Pluto was probably no other than the ſon of Chronos by Rhea, ſpoken of by Sanchoniathon[w]. It is ſaid, that Spain fell to the lot of this prince[x], and that the Celtes are the remote deſcendents of the Titans[y].

Let us proceed to conſider the objects of religious worſhip in *Gaul*. The inhabitants of this country were Celtes[z], and were called by that name in the time

[s] The Perſians and Germans alſo are ſaid to have had no ſtatues of the gods.

[t] Vit. Apol. Tyan. l. 5, c. 4, 5.

[u] ——— Nulla effigies, ſimulachraque nota deorum,
Majeſtate locum, et ſacro implevere timore.
Silius Italicus, l. 3.

[w] Apud Euſeb. Præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 10. p. 38. D. See above, p. 81. note [a].

[x] See Ancient Univerſal Hiſt. v. 6. b. 1. ch. 12. p. 50.

[y] Callimach. Hymn. in Delum, v. 170, et ſeq. Callimachus calls the Celtes ὀψιγόνους Τίτηνας, the late poſterity of the Titans. See Pezron, b. ii. ch. 1.

[z] Plutarch. Vit. Camilli, p. 135. D.

of Julius Cæſar [a]. This affords reaſonable ground to conclude, that they worſhipped human ſpirits as the other Celtic nations did. As a farther proof of this point, we may obſerve, that they alſo claimed to be deſcended from the god Pluto [b], the Titan [c] prince juſt now ſpoken of.

Much has been ſaid in praiſe of the religion of the Druids, both in Gaul and Britain; and attempts have been made to clear them from the imputation not only of human ſacrifices, but even of polytheiſm and idolatry, till they were conquered by the Romans. But, if we can rely on the moſt authentic records of antiquity, the public religion, which was practiſed under their *ſanction* [d],

[a] Qui ipſorum lingua Celtæ, noſtra Galli, appellantur. Cæſar, de B. G. init. — Their country was ſometimes called Celtogalatia, or Celtogallia.

[b] Galli omnes ab Dite patre prognatos prædicant, Cæſar, B. G. l. 6. c. 17.

[c] Anc. Univ. Hiſt. v. 6. p. 40.

[d] Ἔθνος δὲ οὐκ ἄνευ Δρυϊδῶν. Strabo, l. 4. p. 303. See alſo Diodorus Siculus, l. 5. p. 354. ed. Weſſeling. and Cæſar, l. 6. c. 15.

was

was not more commendable than that of other nations. The Gauls were exceedingly addicted to magic, divination[e], and idolatry, in their moſt horrid forms: witneſs their auguries[f] from the blood and entrails of the creatures they ſacrificed to falſe gods. According both to Diodorus Siculus[g] and Strabo[h], men were ſacrificed for the purpoſe of divination, and the omens were the palpitation of their limbs after they were ſtabbed, and the flowing of their blood. This had been their practice from the moſt remote antiquity[i]. They appeaſed their gods with human victims, burn-

[e] Natio eſt omnis Gallorum admodùm dedita religionibus. Cæſar, l. 6. c. 15. — Augurandi ſtudio Galli præter cæteros callent. Juſtin. l. 24. c. 4.

[f] In auſpicia pugnæ hoſtias cædunt, quarum extis, &c. Juſtin. l. 26. c. 2.

[g] L. 5. p. 354.

[h] V. 1. p. 303.

[i] Παλαια τινι και πολυχρονιω παρατηρησει. Diodor. Sic. ubi ſupra.

ing

ing to death men as well as beaſts[k]. We may allow, that Cicero, to ſerve his client, put the moſt invidious conſtruction upon the conduct of the Gauls; yet he ſpeaks of their offering to the gods human victims in a manner that ſhews the fact could not be denied[l]. The teſtimony of other writers is liable to no exception. Cæſar, in particular, had the beſt opportunities of information, by his long reſidence in Gaul; and he has not only affirmed the fact in queſtion, but alſo explained the occaſions[m] upon which they offered human ſacri-

[k] Cæſar (l. 6. c. 15.) ſays: Alii immani magnitudine ſimulachra habent, quorum contexta viminibus membra vivis hominibus complent, quibus ſuccenſis, circumventi flamma exanimantur homines. — Strabo, l. 4. p. 303. affirms, Βοσκηματα και —— ανθρωπους ωλοκαυτων.

[l] Quis enim ignorat eos uſque ad hanc diem retinere illam immanem ac barbaram conſuetudinem hominum immolandorum? Orat. pro Fonteio.

[m] Qui ſunt affecti gravioribus morbis, quique in prœliis periculiſque verſantur, aut pro victimis homines immolant, aut ſe immolaturos vovent. Cæſar, l. 6. c. 15. Compare Juſtin, l. 6. c. 2.

fices.

fices. He tells us, that criminals were the moſt acceptable ſacrifices; but at the ſame time he informs us, that, when theſe were wanting, the innocent ſupplied their place [n]; which is a plain proof that they ſuffered not as victims to the order of ſociety, but to the vengeance of the gods [o]. To them they alſo ſacrificed their captives in war [p]. In caſes of extraordinary danger, they ſtrove to avert the divine wrath by the ſlaughter even of their wives and children [q]. The Romans were far from being free from the charge of offering hu-

[n] Supplicia eorum, qui in furto, aut latrocinio, aut aliqua noxa, ſint comprehenſi, gratiora diis immortalibus eſſe arbitrantur. Sed, cum ejus generis copia deficit, etiam ad innocentium ſupplicia deſcendunt. Cæſar, l. 6. c. 15. — Compare Diodorus Siculus, l. 5. p. 355. ed. Weſſeling.

[o] Quod pro vita hominis, niſi vita hominis reddatur, non poſſe aliter deorum immortalium numen placari arbitrantur. Cæſar, l. 6, c. 15.

[p] Χρωνται δε τοις αιχμαλωτοις ως ιερειοις προς τας των θεων τιμας. Diodor. Sic. l. 5. p. 355.

[q] Sperantes deorum minas expiari cæde ſuorum poſſe, conjuges et liberos ſuos trucidant. Juſtin. l. 26. c. 2.

man

man ſacrifices; nevertheleſs they were ſhocked at the far greater exceſs to which this practice was carried by the Gauls [r]; amongſt whom it in ſome meaſure remained, even after various Roman edicts were paſſed to reſtrain and aboliſh it [s]. This is a plain proof, that this rite of worſhip had taken deep root amongſt the Gauls; and that their religion was not corrupted, but reformed, by the Romans. Now, if the Gauls offered human ſacrifices, we may from hence infer, that thoſe gods were war-

[r] Religio apud Gallos *diræ immanitatis*. See the next note.

[s] The ſuperſtition of the Druids, which the Roman citizens were forbidden to practiſe by Auguſtus, Claudius attempted wholly to aboliſh. Druidarum religionem apud Gallos diræ immanitatis, et tantum civibus ſub Auguſto interdictum, penitus abolevit. Suetonius, Vit. Claudii Cæſaris, c. 25. See Pliny, l. 30. c. 1. concerning what was done againſt the Druids by Tiberius. Strabo takes notice of the Romans drawing off the Gauls both from their cruel ſacrifices and divinations. Dr. Borlaſe (Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 154.) has ſhewn, that their fondneſs for human victims continued even after their converſion to Chriſtianity.

riors

riors and heroes; as will be ſhewn in the ſequel.

Other proofs of this point are not wanting. I ſay nothing of their *temples*, mentioned by Suetonius and Strabo; though (whether they were edifices, or, as ſome ſuppoſe, only conſecrated woods and groves) they were probably the ſepulchres of their gods. The *ſtatues* and *images*[t] of their divinities afford more certain evidence that thoſe divinities had been men.

That ſeveral of them were of human extract, we ſhall ſee no ground to doubt, if we proceed to a diſtinct examination of them. Such unqueſtionably was *Hercules*, whom the Gauls worſhipped on account of his being the firſt who ſurmounted the difficulties of paſſing the Alps[u], which had been deemed inſuperable.

[t] Immani magnitudine ſimulachra habent. Cæſar, l. 6. c. 15.

[u] Gens aſpera, audax, bellicoſa, quæ prima poſt Herculem, cui ea res virtutis admirationem, et immortalitatis

rable. Their *Apollo*, or *Belenus*, was the tutelary god of Noricum [w], and born, it is probable, in Aquileia [x]; from whence his worſhip was brought into Gaul. Theſe inſtances of the worſhip of human ſpirits cannot be diſputed. Nor do I ſee any reaſonable ground to doubt concerning thoſe that follow. The *Jupiter*, or *Taranis*, of the Gauls, according to Cæſar's [y] account of him, anſwers to the Thor of the Goths, the preſident of the air, and ruler of thunder [z]. To him hu-

talitatis fidem, dedit, Alpium invicta juga, et frigore intractabilia loca, tranſcendit. Juſtin. l. 24. c. 4. — Eſt locus Herculeis aris ſacer, ſays Petronius Arbiter, when ſpeaking of the place from whence Hercules croſſed the Alps.

[w] Above, p. 98. note [f].

[x] He is ſpoken of as the ἐπιχώριος θεὸς of the Aquileians, who called him Belis: Βελῆν δὲ καλοῦσι τοῦτον, —— Ἀπόλλωνα αὐτοὶ ὀνομάζοντες. Herodian. Hiſt. l. 8. c. 7. p. 271. ed. Oxon. 1704. Hence it appears, that Belis could not be the ſun, as ſome affirm. As to Apollo, ſee above, p. 27. note [z].

[y] Jovem imperium cœleſtium tenere. Cæſar. l. 6. c. 16.

[z] Above, p. 36.

man

man ſacrifices [a] were offered. The character given of *Mars*, by the ſame illuſtrious writer [b], correſponds to that of the northern Odhen [c]. To this martial hero the firſt invention of armour is aſcribed [d]; and to him captives in war were ſacrificed [e]. He is thought to be the ſame with Heſus, who was appeaſed with human victims [f]. The god, whom both the Gauls and Germans principally worſhipped, was *Mercury* [g]. That the Hermes or Mercury of Europe was the ſame with the Thoth or Thoyth of Egypt,

[a] Below, note [f].

[b] Martem bella regere. Cæſar, l. 6. c. 16.

[c] Above, p. 35.

[d] Diodor. Sic. l. 5. c. 235.

[e] Cæſar, l. 6. c. 16.

[f] Et quibus immitis placatur ſanguine diro
Teutates, horrenſque feris altaribus Heſus,
Et Taranis Scythicæ non mitior ara Dianæ.
Lucan. l. 1. v. 444.

Lactantius ſays, (l. 1. 21.) Galli Heſum atque Theutaten humano cruore placabant.

[g] Concerning the Gauls, Cæſar (l. 6. c. 16.) ſays, Deum maxime Mercurium colunt. — Tacitus gives the ſame account of the Germans: Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt. Mor. Germ. c. 9.

appears

appears from the teſtimonies of Philo Byblius [h], Plato [i], Cicero [k], and Servius [l]. He inſtructed Gaul and Egypt in arts and commerce [m]. From his being joined by the Germans with Mars [n], it ſeems as if he was ſometimes worſhipped under a military character. Perhaps they aſcribed their victories to Mercury when they were gained by genius and ſtratagem, and to Mars when they prevailed by open valour. His military

[h] Ap. Euſeb. Præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 9. p. 31.

[i] In Phædro, p. 274. In Philebo, p. 18. ed. Serrani.

[k] See note [m] below.

[l] In Æn. iv. 577.

[m] Mercurius dicitur Argum interemiſſe, ob eamque cauſam in Egyptum profugiſſe, atque Ægyptiis leges et literas tradidiſſe. Hunc Ægyptii Thoth appellant. Cicero, de Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 22. — Hunc (ſcil. Mercurium) omnium artium inventorem ferunt. ——— Hunc ad quæſtus pecuniæ mercaturaſque habere vim maximam arbitrantur. Cæſar, l. 6. c. 16. — Arnobius ſpeaks to the ſame purpoſe, l. 4. p. 170. — Tertullian (de Coron. mil. c. 8.) ſays, Mercurius literas enarravit neceſſarias, et commercii rebus, et noſtris erga deum ſtudiis.

[n] Diverſam aciem Marti et Mercurio ſacravere. Tacit. Annal. l. 13. c. 57.

character

character accounts for his being appeaſed with human blood [o]. He is ſuppoſed to be the ſame with the cruel Teutates [p], the Phenician Taut or Thaut. His ſepulchre was ſhewn at Hermapolis [q].

The forementioned gods were worſhipped by the Gauls, long before their conqueſt by the Romans. After this period, it is well known, they dedicated temples, and raiſed altars, to the Roman emperors; and adopted all the gods of their conquerors. Nor is there any reaſon to ſuppoſe, that this was the effect of mere complaiſance; becauſe it was agreeable to the principles of the heathen religion. And we have ſeen, that they adhered to thoſe principles, in oppoſition to the Roman authority, even in a caſe in which they were moſt repugnant to the cleareſt dictates of rea-

[o] Tacit. Mor. German. c. 9. Comp. Annal. l. 13. c. 57.

[p] Mentioned above, note [f].

[q] Clement. recogn. apud Patres apoſtol. v. 1. p. 594. ed. Clerici. See alſo what is ſaid concerning Mercury, chap. II. under the article, *Phenicians*.

ſon and humanity: I refer to the bloody cuſtom of offering to their gods human victims. I cannot forbear adding, that, inaſmuch as it is generally allowed that the Gauls and Germans had the ſame objects of worſhip, the diſtinct accounts given of the gods of both mutually illuſtrate and confirm each other.

Now, if, in Spain, Portugal, Gaul, Germany, and the more northern nations of Europe, human ſpirits were deified; what reaſon is there to believe, that the other nations of Europe had not the ſame objects of worſhip? Many of them were peopled by the Celtes[r]. This was the caſe as to Britain in particular. And was the religion of Britain different from that of Gaul? The very contrary is allowed to be true; nor could it be otherwiſe, becauſe both religions had their riſe from the ancient idolatry of the Eaſt. The diſcipline of the Druids was common both to Gaul and Bri-

[r] See above, p. 100. note [l].

tain.

tain[s]. The ſacrifices and arts of divination in both countries were the ſame: for the Britiſh Druids took their omens from human victims, as we have ſeen the Gauliſh did[t]. Indeed, it would be eaſy to produce diſtinct proofs of the cuſtom of human ſacrifices in moſt nations of the world[u], and of Europe in particular; which is itſelf evidence ſufficient of the worſhip of human ſpirits in thoſe nations. As to the ſouthern

[s] Diſciplina (ſcil. Druidum) in Britannia reperta, atque inde in Galliam tranſlata eſſe exiſtimatur. Cæſar, l. 6. c. 12.

[t] Tacitus, ſpeaking of the inhabitants of Angleſey, a Britiſh iſland, ſays: Præſidium poſthac impoſitum victis, exciſique luci, ſævis ſuperſtitionibus ſacri: nam cruore captivo adolere aras, et hominum fibris conſulere deos, fas habebant. Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 20. —— From the foregoing obſervations it appears, that Origen (on Ezek. iv.) was miſtaken when he ſaid, (or rather, that he is miſinterpreted when he is repreſented as ſaying,) that the Druids taught the Britons to believe there is but one God. They probably acknowledged, as the other heathen nations did, one God who was ſuperior to the reſt, or a ſupreme deity.

[u] Iſta toto mundo conſenſere, quamquam diſcordi, et ſibi ignoto. Pliny, l. 30. c. 1.

parts of Italy, Greece, and the eaſtern iſlands of Europe, if they were not peopled by the Celtes, they were by the Syrians [w]; and they derived their religion from them and the Egyptians, whoſe gods will be conſidered in the next chapter. As to the Macedonians, the name of one of their mortal deities is preſerved by Tertullian [x], in a paſſage which will be cited when I come to ſpeak of Cilicia in Aſia. Juſtin ſays, that the temple of Jupiter (of whom enough has been ſaid already) was [y] held in high veneration from the moſt remote antiquity.

I cannot forbear taking particular notice of the *Thracians*, whom Herodotus [z] calls *the greateſt nation of any amongſt men, except the Indians*. By ſome they are reckoned amongſt the Scythians; and it is certain that, like them, they were

[w] See above, p. 101. note [m].

[x] De Anima, c. 46.

[y] Veterrimæ Macedonum religionis. Juſtin. I. 24. c. 2.

[z] L. 5. c. 3.

worſhippers

worſhippers of Zamolxis. Proofs of this point were adduced above [a]; one of which was the teſtimony of a Thracian in Plato. I will here add a paſſage from Lucian [b]: *The Thracians ſacrifice to Zamolxis, a fugitive from Samos, who came to reſide amongſt them.* Beſides their great legiſlator, they deified Orpheus, and alſo Odryſus, (the founder of the nation, at leaſt of a part of it,) and others [c], according to the teſtimony of Tertullian and Epiphanius. But, waving the authority of Chriſtian writers, as not being immediately to our preſent purpoſe, I add, that the paſſage in which Herodotus [d] is ſuppoſed to ſay, "the Thra-"cians worſhipped *only* Mars, Bac-"chus, and Diana," may only import,

[a] P. 32. Compare p. 27, 28.

[b] Jupiter Tragœd. tom. 2. p. 152.

[c] Tertullian. de Anima, c. 2. Photii Bibliotheca, XLV. Epiphanius, l. 1. p. 8.

[d] Θεως δε σεβονται μουνους τουσδε, Αρεα, και Διονυσον, και Αρτεμιν. Herodot. l. 5. c. 7. Compare the paſſage from Herodotus, cited p. 65. note [m].

that theſe were their *principal gods*. They might be the only gods worſhipped by all the different nations of Thrace, or the only gods they had in common with other nations. He could not mean, that no other gods but theſe were worſhipped by any of the people of Thrace; for he knew that Zamolxis was acknowledged as a god by the Getes, a people of this country [e]: and he alſo informs us, that the Thracians of Abſynthus ſacrificed a Perſian to Pleſtorus, a god of the country, according to their cuſtom [f]. Much leſs did Herodotus mean, that the Thracians acknowledged only the natural gods; for we learn from him, that Bacchus was educated in Arabia [g]. He alſo informs us, that the Thracians in Aſia had, in their country [h], an oracle of Mars, who was cer-

[e] Above, p. 32.

[f] Herodot. l. 9. c. 118.

[g] Above, p. 85. note [n].

[h] L. 7. c. 76.

tainly

tainly a Thracian [1]. His ſepulchre was ſhewn in Thrace, according to Clemens Romanus, who makes mention of many other heathen gods whoſe ſepulchres were well known [k]. Each nation of Thrace ſeems to have had it's own peculiar divinity; and their kings prided themſelves in their relation to Hermes: for Herodotus [l], to the paſſage cited from him above, ſubjoins the following declaration: *Their kings, beſides the national deities, adore Hermes with greater devotion than their other gods, ſwear by him alone, and claim to be deſcended from him* [m]. Having given ample ſpecimens of the worſhip of human ſpirits in the different nations of Europe,

III. Let us proceed to *Aſia*.

That dead men were deified in many parts of this vaſt continent, particularly

[1] Virgil calls Thrace, Rhefi Mavortia tellus. Georg. IV. 462.

[k] Clemens, Recogn. l. 10. c. 24. tom. 1. p. 594. ed. Clerici.

[l] L. 5. c. 7.

[m] Concerning Mercury, ſee p. 111.

in Arabia, Perſia, and the boundleſs regions called *Scythia*, has been already ſhewn. The ſame will be proved concerning ſeveral other great nations of Aſia in the next chapter, when the objects of worſhip amongſt the people poliſhed by learning come under conſideration. But, beſides the nations which will be there ſpoken of, and thoſe already ſpecified, there were many others in which human ſpirits were worſhipped. It would be endleſs to recount all the rude and barbarous people who acknowledged ſuch gods as theſe. The mention of ſome of the moſt conſiderable will ſerve as proper ſamples of the reſt.

In Sarmatia Aſiatica[n], near the Palus Mæotis, the hero Achilles was deified. In Colchis there was a temple and grove dedicated to Phrixus[o]. Medea was eſteemed a goddeſs in the ſame place, as

[n] Strabo, l. 11. p. 756.

[o] Hic Phrixi templum et lucus. Mela, l. 1. c. 21.

Athenagoras

Athenagoras [p] affirms upon the authority of Alcman and Heſiod. Athenagoras, in his learned apology for the Chriſtians, inſiſts largely upon this topic, that the Heathens, as appeared from their own records, or from facts of the greateſt notoriety, worſhipped gods that had once been men and women. He mentions by name many ſuch, (which I paſs over,) and ſays, the time would fail him to enumerate all the reſt [q]. I could not omit his teſtimony in this place, becauſe it is confirmed by the Heathens themſelves. — To return. Proteſilaus was worſhipped in Abydena [r]; Autolycus at Sinope in Paphlagonia, where he had an oracle [s]; and Iphigenia by the inhabitants of Taurus [t]; Hector and He-

[p] Legat. pro Chriſtian. p. 51, 52. Oxon. 1706.

[q] Επιλειψει με η ημερα το πληθος καταλεγοντα. Athenag. p. 52.

[r] Sunt Proteſilai oſſa conſecrato delubro. Mela, l. 2. c. 2.

[s] Strabo, l. 12. p. 822.

[t] Herodot, l. 4. c. 103.

lena

lena at Ilium in Phrygia [u]; Sarpedon [w], Cybele, and Attis, at Troas [x]; Achilles at Sigæum [y]; and, at Smyrna, Homer [z]. Divine honours were paid to Alabandus in Caria [a]; to Pandarus in Lycia [b]; to Niobe [c] and Mopſus [d] in Cilicia; to Acmon [e] in Cappadocia; in Pontus to Patroclus [f]; in Armenia to Tanais or A-

[u] Athenag. Legat. p. 50.

[w] Pliny, l. 13. c. 13.

[x] See the hiſtory of Cybele, in Diodor. Sic. l. 3. c. 30.

[y] Strabo, l. 13. p. 891.

[z] Id. l. 14. p. 956. I omit moſt of the Grecian colonies in Aſia, becauſe they do not fall under the deſcription of Barbarians, and becauſe there can be no doubt about their having the ſame objects of worſhip as Greece; which will be conſidered in the next chapter.

[a] Cicero, de Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 15, 19.

[b] Strabo, l. 14. p. 981.

[c] Athenag. Legat. p. 52.

[d] Nam et oraculis hoc genus ſtipatus eſt orbis; ut Amphiarai apud Oropum, Amphilochi apud Mallum, Sarpedonis in Troade, Trophonii in Bœotia, Mopſi in Cilicia, Hermiones in Macedonia, Paſiphaes in Laconica. Tertullian. de Anima, c. 46.

[e] Stephan. Byzant. in voc. *Acmon.*

[f] Clement. Recog. l. 10. c. 25.

naitis;

naitis [g]; and in Media to Hephæſtion [h]. The haughty monarchs of Parthia were ſtiled *the brothers of the ſun and moon*, and were believed to mingle with the ſtars at death [i]. As the Parthians were ſubject, firſt to the Medes, and afterwards to the Perſians; and there was an intercourſe and alliance between the two latter; it is very reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the religion of theſe three nations was very much the ſame [k]: which confirms what was obſerved above, concerning the gods of Perſia being the ſame with thoſe of the ſurrounding nations; that is, both celeſtial and terreſtrial.

If, from Perſia, we go into the remoter regions of Aſia, we ſhall find that the cuſtom of deifying human ſpirits

[g] Strabo, l. 11. p. 805. — See above, p. 70.

[h] Compare Quint. Curt. l. 10. c. 4. Juſtin. l. 12. c. 12. and Plutarch. in Alexandro. — The Medes worſhipped their kings while living. Strabo, l. xi. p. 797.

[i] Ammianus Marcellinus, l. 23. c. 6. See alſo Martial, Ep. 72.

[k] Strabo ſays, (l. 11. p. 805.) that both the Medes and Armenians obſerve the Perſian rites of worſhip.

prevailed

prevailed there from the earlieſt ages: for Ammon and Bacchus were worſhipped in India [l]. Diodorus Siculus [m] makes the Indian Bacchus the moſt ancient of all thoſe who bore that name. He went from Aſſyria into India, according to the account given by ſome of the Indians to Apollonius [n]. One reaſon aſſigned, by the Pendets of Indoſtan, for worſhipping brute-animals, is, their being ſuppoſed to contain in them the ſouls of departed heroes [o]. And a modern voyager [p] to the Indies aſſures us, that the Heathens adore their god Ram, though the

[l] Concerning Bacchus and Ammon, ſee above, p. 85. note [o].

[m] L. 3. p. 232. ed. Weſſeling.

[n] Philoſtrat. Vit. Apollon. Tyan. l. 2. c. 9. p. 57.

[o] Bernier's Memoirs, tom. 3. p. 154, 155, 156.

[p] Thevenot, Voyages des Indes, part. 3. liv. 1. c. 38. Quand un Chrétien leur parle de leur dieu Ram que les Gentils adorent, ils ne ſoutiennent point qu'il eſt Dieu, et diſent ſeulement que c'étoit un grand roi, dont la ſainteté et le ſecour qu'il a donné aux hommes lui ont acquis une communication plus particulière avec Dieu qu'autres ſaints, et qu'ainſi ils lui portent beaucoup plus de reſpect.

Brachmans,

Brachmans, in their converſation with Chriſtians, pretend that they only honour him with ſingular reſpect as a great [q] monarch, whoſe extraordinary virtues and merit towards mankind give him a peculiar intereſt in the favour of the Deity. The moſt ancient of all their gods was Perambramman, who was worſhipped together with his three ſons [r]. To many other men they paid divine honours [s], and uſed libations, ſacrifices, and various other rites, to expiate the manes of the dead [t]. Accord-

[q] That is, I ſuppoſe, with a *civil* reſpect: an excuſe like that was made for the Perſians, p. 56. and for the Chineſe, p. 41.

[r] Parambramman neſcio quem deorum antiquiſſimum colunt, et ex eo filios tres. Peter Maffeus, in his firſt book Hiſtoriarum Indicarum, p. 55.

[s] Multis præterea, non hominibus modo, ſed brutis etiam animantibus, cœleſtes habent honores, et templa ædificant. Id. ib. They paid extraordinary devotion to oxen; — quod hominum vita functorum animos in eam maxime belluam immigrare opinantur. P. 56.

[t] Sacrificiis, libationibus, cæteriſque nefariis ritibus, —— ad expiandos mortuorum manes, utuntur. Id. ib.

ing

ing to the editor of the Ezour Vedam[u], Budda, the moſt celebrated of the Samanean doctors, who was born near ſeven hundred years before Chriſt, was honoured as a god, and his doctrine was adopted, not only in India, but alſo in Japan, China, Siam, and Tartary. The Ezour Vedam itſelf is ſaid to aſſert the unity, but conſiders all the other gods as mortals. Every one has heard of the extraordinary devotion paid in *Tibet* and other eaſtern nations to the grand *Lama*, whom they regard as omniſcient and immortal: for, when he dies in appearance, they imagine he only changes his abode, being born again in another body[w].

If, from Tibet, you proceed to China, you will find, in that vaſt empire, gods taken from amongſt mankind. What

[u] L'Ezour Vedam, ou ancien commentaire du Vedam, contenant l'expoſition des opinions religieuſes et philoſophiques des Indiens, par M. de Sainte Croix. Monthly Review, appendix to vol. 61. p. 500.

[w] See Bernier's Memoirs, v. 4. p. 127. and Complete Syſtem of Geography, v. 2. p. 301. ed. 1747.

was

was only incidentally obſerved above [x], concerning the Chineſe, cannot be omitted in this place, to which it properly belongs; viz. that they pay an idolatrous worſhip to the ſouls of their anceſtors, and honour Confucius with the ſame religious ceremonies as they do their celeſtial and terreſtrial ſpirits.

At the very extremity of the Eaſt, in Japan, there are clear traces of the ſame ſuperſtition. I need not take any particular notice of their god Cambadaxi, of whom an account is given by Caſpar Vilela [y]. It is ſufficient to obſerve, in general, concerning the Japaneſe, that they deified their kings and men of royal birth, and thoſe alſo who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by uſeful inventions or any illuſtrious deeds. Nay, (what is very remarkable,) the Japaneſe, at ſuch a diſtance from Greece relate of theſe hero-gods the like abſurd, ridiculous,

[x] P. 41.

[y] In l. 3. Epiſtolarum Japonicarum.

and

and immoral, ſtories, as the Greek poets fabled concerning Jupiter, Saturn, Bacchus, and their other fictitious deities [a]. This obſervation may be applied, in a good meaſure, to the Brachmans of India [a].

I ſhall not trouble the reader here with any remarks upon a late writer, whoſe learning allowed him to affirm [b], "that divine honours were not paid to "deceaſed heroes in the eaſtern nations;" though the very contrary has been demonſtrated by the moſt numerous teſtimonies. Two general remarks ſhall cloſe this ſection.

[a] Reges olim ipſos, regumque filios, aut invento quopiam, inſignive alio facinore, falſæ divinitatis gloriam conſequutos. Horum de vita rebuſque geſtis, uti de Jove, Saturno, Libero, cæteriſque inanibus diis, Græci poetæ abſurda quædam, et ridenda, et turpia, fabulantur. Maffei Hiſtor. Indic. l. 12. p. 533. — In the iſland of Taprobane, now called Ceylon, Venus was worſhipped. Dionyſii Periegeſis, v. 592.

[a] Multos habent ſuarum ſuperſtitionum libros —— quæ nonnihil ad veteris Græciæ fabulas et auguralem Hetruriæ diſciplinam videntur accedere. Maffei Hiſtor. Indic. l. 1. p. 56.

[b] Fell, p. 7.

1. The

1. The teſtimonies, produced in this and the foregoing ſections, are ſufficient to ſhew, that the worſhip of human ſpirits, in the nations ſtiled *barbarous*, was very *general*. The known exceptions are ſo few, that they ſcarcely deſerve to be mentioned. Dr. Blackwell has furniſhed us only with one, if the caſe of the Maſſagetes [c] be indeed an exception. Having no ſiniſter deſign to anſwer, I did not conceal from the reader the caſe of ſome of the Libyan Nomades [d], (overlooked by that learned writer,) who worſhipped only the natural gods. I now add, that the ſame has been affirmed concerning the *Albani*, a people who bordered upon the Caſpian ſea. But I queſtion whether this can be inferred from the account given of them by Strabo [e], who only ſays: *They worſhip the gods; the ſun, and Jupiter, and the*

[c] Above, p. 28. [d] P. 95, 96.

[e] Θεους δε τιμωσιν· Ηλιον, και Δια, και Σεληνην· διαφερουσι δε την Σεληνην. Strabo, l. 11. p. 768.

moon; principally the latter. Had this accurate writer, by Jupiter, here meant *heaven*, it would have been more natural for him to have uſed the Greek term that expreſſes it, eſpecially in connexion with two other natural objects, the ſun and moon. By Jupiter, therefore, he probably intended the preſident of the air: an office which the Heathens aſſigned to a human ſpirit. Beſides, Strabo does not affirm, that the Albanians worſhipped no other gods but thoſe whom he ſpecified. He takes notice, indeed, of their ſhewing no reſpect to the dead[f]; but this might be very conſiſtent with their worſhipping ſuch men as antiquity had deified. I ſhall only add, that if, in ſome nations, the natural gods alone were acknowledged, we have ſeen that there were others in which they had no gods but deified men and women[g]. In moſt of the nations, of which we are ſpeaking, there were both natural and mortal gods.

[f] Id. ib. [g] P. 32, 97.

2. The

2. The foregoing teſtimonies juſtify the limited explication, given above [h], of a paſſage in Plato, in which he ſays, "*Many* of the Barbarians, in his time, "held only the natural gods." For moſt of theſe teſtimonies refer to times prior to thoſe of this celebrated philoſopher. And there will be occaſion to ſhew, in the ſequel, that the worſhip of human ſpirits very generally prevailed in the early ages of the world.

[h] P. 10, note r. Compare Fell, p. 9.

CHAP. II.

Proving, from the teſtimonies of the Heathens, that they paid religious honours to dead men in the nations poliſhed by learning.

AMONGST the nations which anſwer this deſcription, we may reckon the Chaldeans, Babylonians, Syrians, Phenicians, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans. To theſe we muſt add ſuch Arabians as bordered upon Judea and Egypt.

It is to the gods of theſe nations, of ſuch of them eſpecially as were upon the confines of Canaan [1], that the Scriptures refer, when they ſpeak of the heathen deities. The knowledge of the gods of theſe nations, therefore, muſt be highly uſeful to the lover of ſacred literature.

[1] The Iſraelites *went after the Heathen that were round about them.* 2 Kings xvii. 15.

My

My more immediate deſign at preſent is to ſhew, that, in all [k] the fore-mentioned nations, divine honours were paid to dead men and women.

SECT. I.

I Shall begin with conſidering the caſe of the PHENICIANS; becauſe the account given us of their gods will be of uſe to us in explaining thoſe of the other poliſhed nations.

It has been ſaid, with no ſmall degree of confidence, that "there can be *no* "*doubt* but that the Greeks themſelves "have declared, that the *Phenicians* ne-"ver worſhipped ſuch gods as had been "men[l]." Who the Greeks are, that have made this declaration, is a ſecret the gentleman has locked up in his own breaſt, or rather is (I apprehend) a great ſecret even to himſelf. As Sanchonia-

[k] The gods of the Arabs were conſidered above, p. 84.

[l] Fell, p. 31.

thon is the author he had laſt mentioned, he probably miſtook him for a Greek writer. But the hiſtory of Sanchoniathon was written in the Phenician language, as the learned well know; and was only tranſlated into Greek by Philo of Byblus. A part of that tranſlation is preſerved by Euſebius[m]. Philo, in his preface to it, has given us the following extract[n] from his author; introducing it with a declaration, that it was previouſly neceſſary to the right underſtanding of his hiſtory[o]. I ſhall lay it before the reader, not for the ſake of refuting the gentleman's unſupported aſſertion, which thoſe acquainted with antiquity muſt know to be falſe; but becauſe it will

[m] Præp. Ev. l. 1.

[n] Whether the following citation be Philo's extract from Sanchoniathon, or the account which Philo himſelf thought it neceſſary to give in order to the right underſtanding of his author, is a matter of no moment. It may be referred indifferently either to the one or the other.

[o] Euſeb. Præp. Ev. l. 1. p. 32. D.

throw

throw great light upon the general ſubject.

Sanchoniathon, who is ſuppoſed to have approached near to the age of Moſes, writes as follows [p]. "*The moſt ancient of the Barbarians, eſpecially the Phenicians and Egyptians, from whom other people derived this cuſtom, accounted thoſe the* GREATEST GODS [q], *who had found out things moſt neceſſary and uſeful in life, and had been benefactors to mankind. Theſe they worſhipped as gods* [r]; *and, applying their temples to this uſe, they conſecrated to their names pillars and ſtatues of wood, which the Phenicians held in high veneration, and inſtituted the moſt ſolemn feſtivals in their honour. More eſpecially did they give the names of their kings to the mundane elements, and to other things to which they attributed divinity.* For phyſical beings alone, ſuch as the ſun, moon, planets, and elements, and things of

[p] Id. p. 32, 33.

[q] Θεους νομιζον μεγιστους.

[r] Ως θεους προσεκυνησαν.

" the ſame kind, did they acknowledge " to be ſtrictly and properly gods[s], " *So that ſome of their gods were MOR-* " *TAL, and others IMMORTAL*[t]."

That part of this citation from Sanchoniathon, or Philo Byblius, here printed in Roman characters, was given in the Diſſertation on Miracles[u]; as was alſo ſo much of the other part[w], here diſtinguiſhed by Italics, as was neceſſary to ſhew, that the Phenicians and other ancient nations worſhipped ſuch men as had been benefactors to the human race. Nevertheleſs Mr. Fell[x], (incredible as it may ſeem!) ſuppreſſing that part of it which aſſerts the deification of men, (though he quotes the words that

[s] Some render, φυσικας δε ηλιον και σεληνην —— θεους μονους εγινωσκον, " but the ſun, moon, and planets, and " other things like theſe, they acknowledged as the " only *phyſical* or *natural* gods." But Euſebius himſelf, p. 28. A, after enumerating the ſame phyſical gods of the Phenicians, ſays, that their *firſt naturaliſts* θεους μονον εγινωσκον, *acknowledged theſe alone to be gods.*

[t] Ως αυτοις τους μεν θνητους, τους δε αθανατους, θεους ειναι.

[u] P. 173. note [f], p. 179. note [t]. [w] P. 187.

[x] P. 30, 31.

immediately

immediately precede it [7],) and ſetting before his readers that part only which relates to the natural gods, repreſents the latter as ſuch a contradiction to my aſſertions reſpecting the more immediate objects of heathen worſhip, that he profeſſes to be at a loſs *what apology to make for me*, and deſcribes me as a perſon with whom *it is in vain to reaſon*. Can this writer make any apology for his own conduct? He falſely charges me with groſs ſelf-contradiction, in a caſe in which there would not have appeared even a ſhadow of it, had he had the honeſty to lay before his readers both the extracts from Philo Byblius; which, taken together, inſtead of contradicting, do in the fulleſt manner eſtabliſh, what I had aſſerted concerning the heathen gods. I appeal to every candid reader.

Is it not evident, from the foregoing teſtimony of Sanchoniathon, that, in the opinion of the Phenicians, particu-

[7] Comp. Diſſert. on Mir. p. 187. Fell, p. 31.

larly

larly of their firſt naturaliſts[z], phyſical beings were the only gods; that is, in their own natural right[a]? And is it not equally evident, from the ſame teſtimony, that the Phenicians worſhipped human ſpirits *as gods*, even as their *greateſt gods*, and with the moſt ſolemn devotion? To theſe their worſhip was more immediately directed, in their public temples; and, from theſe, their natural gods received their denomination. So that the worſhip of the latter muſt in a manner have been abſorbed in that of the former, or both were worſhipped together. He alone who was capable of appealing to Herodotus, to vouch for a fact which that hiſtorian contradicts, could be bold enough to tell the world, that the teſtimony of Sanchoniathon was a contradiction to my aſſertions, when that teſtimony does, in the cleareſt terms, confirm my opinion, and confute his. Had

[z] Οι πρωτοι φυσικοι, κ. τ. λ. Euſeb. P. Ev. l. 1. p. 38. A.

[a] Compare what is obſerved above, from Mr. Sale, concerning the Arabians, p. 87.

he

he not been an entire ſtranger to Sanchoniathon, he muſt have known that his hiſtory was written with the expreſs deſign of ſhewing, that, though the parts and elements of the world were the original gods of the Phenicians and other nations, yet that the public devotion was directly addreſſed to deified men and women [b]. And Euſebius teſtifies, that, even to his time, theſe were the gods worſhipped *by all people, and in all cities and countries* [c].

Mr. Fell affirms [d], *Theſe* (the ſun, moon, and the other natural gods) *were the Cabiri, or mighty gods of the eaſtern nations.* The gentleman here, as on other occaſions, follows Dr. Blackwell [e]. But the learned doctor's authority is of no weight, in a caſe of this kind, againſt the teſtimony of the ancients. The Ca-

[b] See Sanchoniathon, apud Euſeb. P. Ev. l. 1. paſſim, or Euſebius's ſhort account of him, p. 31. C.

[c] Τυς εισιτι και νυν θευς παρα τοις πασι νενομισμενυς κατα τε τας πολεις και τας χωρας. Id. ib.

[d] P. 10. [e] Mythol. p. 277.

biri,

biri, or potent gods of the Phenicians, were, according to Sanchoniathon, eight in number, and no other than men deified after death. *From Sydic deſcended the Dioſcuri, or Cabiri, or Corybantes, or Samothracian deities*[f]. *Theſe*, he adds, *firſt invented the building of a ſhip*. The Egyptian prieſts ſeem to have envied Phenicia the honour of having given birth to theſe famous deities, (whoſe rites were ſo ſacred and myſterious, and ſo generally obſerved,) and claimed them as their own. For they told Herodotus[g], that the Cabiri[h] were the ſons of Vulcan, the oldeſt of their gods. I will not enter into this diſpute; but muſt obſerve, that, though the Phenician *Cabirs* are allegorized by many ancient as well as modern writers[i], yet were they

[f] Ἐκ δὲ τῦ Συδυκ, Διοσκοῦροι, ἢ Καβειροι, ἢ Κορυβαντες, ἢ Σαμοθρακες. Euſeb. Præp. Evan. l. 1. p. 36. A. See p. 39. B. C.

[g] L. 3. c. 37. [h] See Heſych. in voce.

[i] Letters on Mythol. p. 278. Jablonſki, Pantheon Ægypt. tom. 2. Prolegom. p. 61. Cicer. Nat. Deor. l. 1. c. 42.

real

real human perſonages, and worſhipped as ſuch by the people. The ſon of Thabion is ſaid to be the firſt who turned their hiſtory into allegory [k].

It will be proper to take notice of ſome other Phenician deities, who were certainly of human extract. Sanchoniathon [l] makes mention of *Chryſor*, (ſaid to be the ſame with Vulcan,) as one who, for his uſeful inventions, was, after his deceaſe, worſhipped as a god: of *Agrotes*, who, for a like reaſon, was honoured with a ſtatue and temple, and was eminently called *the greateſt of the gods* [m]: of *Dagon*, who, having diſcovered bread-corn and the plough, was called Jupiter Aratrius [n]: of *Taautus*, (called by the Alexandrians *Thoyth*, and by the Greeks *Hermes*,) the ſon of Miſor, and the inventor of letters [o]: of *Elioun*

[k] Euſeb. Præp. Ev. l. 1. p. 39.

[l] Apud Euſeb. Præp. Ev. p. 35. [m] Id. ib.

[n] Id. p. 37. D. Hence Dagon was called Σιτων, that is, frumenti præſes, as it is explained by the editor of Euſebius, p. 36. C.

[o] Id. p. 36. A.

or

or *Hypſiſtus*, to whom, after his death, his children offered ſacrifices and libations [p]: of *Ouranus*, from whom the element over us, by reaſon of it's excellent beauty, is called Ouranus or heaven [q]; and of *Gee*, from whom earth took it's name [r]. Ouranus had, by his ſiſter Gee, *Chronos*, who founded Byblus, and after his death was conſecrated into the planet called, after his name, *Chronos*, or *Saturn* [s]. Many more examples of the ſame kind might be produced from Sanchoniathon; but I ſhall take notice only of two, Aſtarte and Hercules.

The celebrated *Aſtarte*, according to this author [t], was the daughter of Ouranus. She is called *the greateſt goddeſs* [u], and was the ſame with *Aphrodite*, or *Ve-*

[p] Ib. [q] P. 36. B.

[r] Concerning the deification of Ouranus and Gee, ſee Diodorus Siculus, l. 3. p. 224, 225. ed. Weſſeling. and Lactantius, de Falſ. Relig. l. 1. p. 52, 53. Gee ſeems to anſwer to *Herthum*, ſpoken of above, p. 44.

[s] Euſeb. P. E. p. 40. C. p. 150. D.

[t] Id. p. 37.

[u] Sanchon. ap. Euſeb. P. E. l. 1. p. 38. C.

nus,

mus, according to the Phenicians [w]. Plato alſo calls her *the ancient and celeſtial Venus*; and ſpeaks of her, as Sanchoniathon does, as the daughter of Uranus [x]. In Cicero likewiſe the Syrian Venus is called Aſtarte [y]. She was worſhipped by the Arabians, Perſians, Aſſyrians, and Syrians; and held in peculiar veneration at Tyre, Sidon, and Byblus [z]. This female deity reigned in Phenicia [a], and was thought to be worſhipped by the Sidonians and Carthaginians under the name of Juno [b].

[w] Την δε Αστρτην Φοινικες την Αφροδιτην ειναι λεγουσι. Id. p. 38. C, D. Suidas ſays, that Aſtarte was called Venus by the Greeks.

[x] Plato, Sympoſ. p. 180. ed. Serran.

[y] De Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 23. Venus quarta, Syria Tyroque concepta, quæ Aſtarte vocatur. — Compare Herodot. l. 1. c. 105, 131. and what was obſerved above concerning Urania, p. 68-71. — See Herodian, l. 5. c. 15. p. 193.

[z] Herodot. l. 1. c. 105, 131. — Lucian. de Dea Syr. p. 657, 658.

[a] Phenicia was called *the land of Venus*. Æſchyl. Supplices, v. 563.

[b] Virgil. Æn. I. 446.

With

With regard to the Phenician Hercules of Tyre, where he had a temple[c] erected to him, he was the ſon of Demaroon, and was by the Phenicians called Melcarthus *. He is thought by ſome to be the oldeſt of all the great heroes of the name of Hercules. His temple at Tyre was ſaid to be as old as the city[d]. In the ſame city there was a temple dedicated to Hercules under the title of *Thaſian* [d].

The reader muſt have obſerved, that ſeveral of the foregoing proofs of the Phenicians paying religious worſhip to human ſpirits are furniſhed by the Greek writers; though we have been told[e], that the Greeks have, *without doubt*, declared the contrary. In confirmation of what has been urged, I muſt obſerve, that the cruel cuſtom of offering human ſacrifices was practiſed in Phenicia more frequently, and with circumſtances of

[c] Herodot. l. 2. c. 44.

* Euſeb. P. E. p. 38. A. He was alſo called *Malic*, or king. Heſych.

[d] Id. ib. [e] Fell, p. 31.

greater

greater barbarity, than in any other country. A colony of Phenicians, ſettled at Carthage, when firſt tranſplanted, ſacrificed to Saturn (whom we have ſpoken of before) the ſons of their moſt eminent citizens; though, in after-times, the children of the poor, bought and bred up for that purpoſe, were ſubſtituted in their room [f]. Two hundred ſons of the nobility, together with three hundred other perſons, have been offered up at one time [g]. The circumſtances attending theſe barbarous rites are preſerved by Diodorus Siculus [h], but are too ſhocking to be recited. No wonder that a multitude of ſuch ſacrifices, equally impious and inhuman, ſhould be ſpoken of in Scripture as the ground of God's ſingular diſpleaſure againſt the Canaanites, and of his purpoſe to extirpate them. But they are taken notice of here, becauſe they furniſh a proof, (as will be ſhewn hereafter,) that the Chro-

[f] Diodor. Sic. l. 20. p. 415. [g] Id. p. 415, 416.
[h] P. 416. ed. Weſſ.

nus or Saturn, to whom they were offered, was the ſame deified monarch of Phenicia who ſacrificed his own ſon*.

SECT. II.

LET us proceed to inquire, whether heroes and gods of earthly origin were worſhipped by the EGYPTIANS.

We are now entering on a ſubject of ſingular importance. Whether Egypt derived it's religion from the eaſtern nations, as ſome [i] contend; or whether, as others aſſert [k], the eaſtern nations derived their religion from Egypt; on either ſuppoſition, both religions were formed upon the ſame model, and there muſt

* Euſeb. P. E. p. 38.

[i] The eaſtern writers.

[k] Lucian aſcribes to the Egyptians the firſt knowledge of the gods, and of their rites of worſhip; and ſays, it was derived from them to the Aſſyrians. De Syria Dea, p. 656, 657. tom. 2. — Euſebius affirms, that the polytheiſm of the nations had it's firſt riſe in Phenicia and Egypt, and was from thence propagated into other countries, and Greece in particular. Præp. Ev. l. 1. p. 30. C. D.

have

have been a great reſemblance between them. As to the weſtern nations, particularly Greece and Italy, it is allowed by all, that they received their theology from Egypt and the eaſt. The religion, therefore, of all the nations poliſhed by learning muſt have been the ſame, in all it's eſſential principles; and a knowledge of the gods of any one of them will aſſiſt us in forming our judgement concerning thoſe of the others. But Egypt demands our particular attention, as well on account of her high reputation and extenſive influence amongſt the ancient nations, as of the full information we have concerning her objects of worſhip. The theology of Egypt is indeed the key to that of all the other countries here ſpoken of. Not to add, that thoſe writers, who ſeem diſpoſed to reſolve the great gods of the Heathens into a *phyſical ſyſtem*, derive their chief arguments from the accounts which are given us of the Egyptian divinities. They will by no means allow, that ſuch gods as had

once been men were ever worſhipped in Egypt, whatever might be the caſe in other countries.

There are, however, many preſumptive proofs of the contrary. Thoſe nations which derived their theology from Egypt (Greece, in particular, which borrowed from it the very *names*[l] of their gods) did certainly worſhip human ſpirits. Is it unnatural to conclude, from hence, that the Egyptians did the ſame? — They were the firſt who erected *images*[m] in honour of the gods: and were not images in human form repreſentations of human beings? — They are ſaid to be the firſt who held the immortality of the ſoul of man, which they explained

[l] Herodot. l. 2. c. 50.

[m] Id. l. 2. c. 4. — Plato affirms, that the Egyptians had ſculpture for ten thouſand years before his time. De Leg. l. 2. p. 656. ed. Serrani. And, though Lucian thought that their moſt ancient temples were without images, yet he allows, that afterwards the Aſſyrians, who derived their theology from Egypt, placed images in their temples. De Dea Syr. p. 657.

by

by it's tranſmigration [n]: principles that either lay at the foundation of it's future aſſociation with the gods, or that were intimately connected with it [o]. — According to Diodorus Siculus, they worſhipped their kings, while on [p] earth, as real gods. Cleopatra claimed to be

[n] Herodot. l. 2. c. 123.

[o] So cloſely connected, in the idea of many of the ancients, were the immortality of the ſoul, and it's future deification or aſſociation with the gods, that Herodotus deſcribes the Getes, becoming companions of Zamolxis, by ſaying, *they immortalized:* Αθανατιζουσι δε τον δε τον τροπον. L. 4. c. 94. Immortality ſeems to have been uſed almoſt as ſynonymous to deification in Diodorus Siculus, lib. 3. p. 243. lin. 4. ed. Weſſ. and alſo in p. 24. lin. 10. (which will be cited in the ſequel,) and in many other writers. As to the doctrine of tranſmigration, it led them to believe, that the ſame god might be often born; as appears from the claim of Cleopatra and others.

[p] Ως προς αληθειαν οντας θεους. L. 1, p. 101. — The ſame thing is plainly intimated in the following lines of Virgil, Georg. IV. 210.

> Præterea regem non ſic Ægyptus, et ingens
> Lydia, nec populi Parthorum, aut Indus Hydaſpes,
> Obſervant. ———

Iſis [q] herſelf, one of the principal objects of their devotion.

If you aſk, how is it poſſible that a nation, wiſe and learned as the Egyptians, ſhould worſhip dead men and women? I anſwer, that, inaſmuch as all allow, and cannot but allow, that they acknowledged gods whom they fed in the ſtall, nay, that grew in their gardens, why ſhould it be thought incredible that they ſhould deify beings of a more noble nature than brutes and vegetables? Beſides, it will be proved hereafter [r], that the reaſon why brutes were worſhipped was the notion of their being animated by the ſouls of departed men. The foregoing conſiderations may at leaſt prepare us to receive the poſitive proofs, which I ſhall now produce, of the worſhip of human ſpirits in Egypt.

[q] Cleopatra ſibi tantum adſumſerat, ut ſe Iſin vellet videri. Servius, in Æn. VIII. 696.

[r] See alſo above, p. 125. note [s].

I. *Hermes*

1. *Hermes Triſmegiſtus*[h] acknowledged, that the gods of Egypt were dead men; that the art of making gods was invented in this country; and that human ſouls were worſhipped as demons in every city. Amongſt the human perſonages conſecrated into gods, Triſmegiſtus ſpecifies,[i] Æſculapius, Iſis, and the elder Hermes, or Mercury; three of the moſt celebrated divinities of Egypt. The

[h] Hermes ipſe ——— deos Ægypti homines mortuos eſſe teſtatur. Cum enim dixiſſet proavos ſuos —— inveniſſe artem qua efficerent deos. —— Terrenis diis atque mundanis facile eſt iraſci; utpote qui ſint ab hominibus ex utraque natura facti atque compoſiti. Ex utraque natura dicit, ex anima et corpore: ut pro anima ſit dæmon, pro corpore ſimulachrum. Unde contigit, inquit, ab Ægyptiis hæc ſancta animalia nuncupari, coliique per ſingulas civitates eorum animas, &c. Auguſt. Civ. Dei, l. 8. c. 26. p. 513, 514.

[i] Ecce duos deos dicit homines fuiſſe, Æſculapium et Mercurium. —— Addit, et dicit, Iſin vero uxorem (Oſiridis), quam multa bona præſtare propitiam, quantis ſcimus obeſſe iratam? Deinde ut oſtenderet ex hoc genere eſſe deos, quos illa arte homines faciunt: unde dat intelligi *dæmones* ſe opinari ex hominum mortuorum animis extitiſſe. Id. p. 513.

laſt he calls his own grandfather, after whoſe name he was called *.

2. The teſtimony of *Sanchoniathon* was produced above [u]; and we have ſeen him affirming, that the Egyptians, as well as the Phenicians, accounted thoſe *the greateſt gods*, who had been eminent benefactors to mankind.

3. My next appeal ſhall be to *Herodotus*, who had viſited Egypt, and ſpared no pains to inform himſelf concerning the religion of that country. The very ingenious Dr. Blackwell [w], and a foreigner [x] of diſtinguiſhed learning, would willingly infer, from a paſſage in this hiſtorian, that the Egyptians *paid no religious honours to heroes* [y]. They ſeem, however, to have miſtaken the meaning of their author, by not attending to the connexion of the paſſage in queſtion with the preceding context. Herodotus

* Id. ib. [u] P. 135.

[w] In Letters on Mythol. p. 209.

[x] Jablonſki, Pantheon Ægypt. tom. 2. Prolegom. p. 37.

[y] Νομιζουσι δ' ων Αιγυπτιοι ουδ' ηρωσι σεβειν. L. 2. c. 50.

is

is ſpeaking of Neptune, and ſhewing that the Greeks learnt the name of this god from the Libyans, not from the Egyptians; who, as this hiſtorian elſewhere [a] informs us, affirmed, that they did not know the name of Neptune, nor ever received him into the number of their gods. Concerning Neptune alone Herodotus ſpeaks, when he ſays, the Egyptians *did not honour him at all*, as Gale renders the original [a]. But it is very probable, that the text is corrupted, and that the true reading makes no mention of heroes, and only imports, that *they do not ſacrifice* [b] to him (Neptune); that is, the Egyptians did neither acknowledge his divinity, nor pay him any worſhip. Indeed the occaſion did not lead Herodotus to ſpeak about *heroes*; for Neptune was advanced by the Libyans to the higher rank of gods,

[a] L. 2. c. 43.

[a] Οὐδ' ἡρωσιν ὑδεν, nullo honore proſequuntur.

[b] Some copies read, ου δη δρωσιν ὑδεν. Variantes Lectiones ad librum ii. Herodot. p. 10. curâ Galei.

though

though originally a mere mortal. Nor was it poſſible for the hiſtorian to affirm, that the Egyptians paid no religious honours to the ſouls of dead men, without groſſly contradicting himſelf. For,

I ſhall now proceed to prove, from the teſtimony of this inquiſitive traveller, that human ſouls were worſhipped in Egypt. He affirms, that, at Chemmis [a], in the province of Thebes, Perſeus, the ſon of Danae, had a temple [c] dedicated to him, in which his image was placed; and that he was ſaid by the inhabitants frequently to appear riſing out of the earth [d]. The prieſts informed him, that king Proteus, a native of Memphis, was honoured with a ſtately temple in that city [e]. In this temple there was a chapel dedicated to Venus the Stranger, whom he ſuppoſed to be Helena, the daughter of Tyndarus [f]. Mars, who re-

[c] Εν ταυτη τη πολι ἐστι Περσεος τυ Δαναης ἱρον. Herodot. l. 2. c. 91.

[d] Ib. [e] Id. c. 112, 118, 119.

[f] Cap. 112, 113. Strabo refers to this Venus, l. 17. p. 1161.

turned

turned to his mother when he attained to the age of man [g], was worſhipped at Pampremis [h]. And Hercules (of whom farther mention will be made) had a temple near the Canopian mouth of the river Nile, which, Herodotus ſays, remained to his time [i]. Theſe inſtances of the worſhip of human ſpirits in Egypt, recorded by Herodotus, were certainly overlooked by thoſe writers who affirmed, upon the ſuppoſed authority of this hiſtorian, that the Egyptians paid no religious honours to any gods of earthly extract.

But we may advance farther, and obſerve, that Herodotus has recorded ſeveral facts, which ſerve to ſhew, that ſome at leaſt of all the different orders of Egyptian gods were no other than men and women deified. He makes Latona, who reſided in Butus, one of the *eight* primary deities of Egypt [k]. Ac-

[g] Cap. 64. [h] Cap. 59. [i] Cap. 113.

[k] Λητω ουσα των οκτω θεων των πρωτων γενομενων, οικεουσα εν τη Βουτοι πολι. L. 2. c. 156.

cording

cording to our author, Pan alſo was reckoned in this number by the Mendeſians [l], and was conſidered by ſome as the oldeſt of the eight primary gods [m]. Now, Pan, as we learn from hiſtory [n], accompanied Oſiris in his ſucceſsful expedition to the Indies. We are farther told by Herodotus, that the Cabiri were ſaid to be deſcended from Vulcan *: and that, when the Egyptians added four more gods to the eight juſt now ſpoken of, Hercules made one of the *twelve* [o], whom the hiſtorian conſiders as a man; as will be ſhewn in the ſequel. He likewiſe makes mention of a *third* order of gods, to which Bacchus belonged, as Hercules did to the ſecond, and Pan to the firſt [p]. Now, Bacchus, we have ſeen, was educated in Arabia [q].

But it is objected, that, according to Herodotus, the prieſts of Egypt affirmed, that, in eleven thouſand three hun-

[l] Cap. 46.
[n] Diodor. Sic. p. 21. Weſſ.
[o] Herodot. l. 2. c. 43, 145.
[q] Above, p. 85.
[m] Cap. 145.
* Above, p. 140.
[p] Cap. 145.

dred

dred and forty years, *there had been no god in the form of a man*[r]: — that, according to the ſame author[s], the prieſts of Jupiter at Thebes would by no means allow, *that a man could be begotten by a god*, or that any one *Piromis*[t] had been reputed either *a god or a hero*: — and that the Theban prieſts farther affirmed, that in the moſt ancient times *the gods had been the ſovereigns of Egypt*, the laſt of whom was Orus, the ſon of Oſiris[u]. From theſe circumſtances a learned writer[w] concludes, that the Egyptians were ſtrangers to the deification of men.

In anſwer to this objection, it may be obſerved, 1ſt. That, in reading Herodotus, we are carefully to diſtinguiſh between the facts which he affirms, or appears to credit, and thoſe which he profeſſedly reports upon the teſtimony of others. He himſelf has often pointed

[r] Lib. 2. c. 142. [s] Cap. 143, 144.

[t] *Piromis* anſwers to καλος κ'αγαθος, according to Herodotus.

[u] Cap. 144. [w] Jablonſki, tom. 2. Prolegom. p. 37.

out

out this diſtinction, particularly in the following paſſage: *I am obliged to relate what is ſaid, but I am not obliged to believe every thing without diſtinction; and I deſire that this declaration may be attended to through the* [x] *courſe of my hiſtory.* Now, Herodotus does not affirm the truth of any one of the particulars which form the objection we are conſidering, but profeſſedly ſpeaks of them as reports he received from the prieſts [y]. His authority therefore is improperly urged to prove, that the Egyptians did not worſhip mortal divinities. He knew the contrary to be true [z].

[x] Herodot. l. 7. c. 152.

[y] Herodotus does not, I allow, openly contradict theſe reports; nor was he at liberty to do it, if he was initiated into the myſteries, as he probably was. With what reſerve he ſpeaks of the gods, may be ſeen by conſulting lib. 2. c. 3, 45, 65, 71.

[z] See above, p. 154, 155, 156, and what is ſaid concerning Hercules below. He ſeems to have had no conception that there was any eſſential difference between the Egyptians and the generality of mankind reſpecting the gods, but *ſuppoſed all men thought alike concerning them:* Νομιζων παντας ανθρωπους ισον περι αυτων επιστασθαι. L. 2. c. 3.

2dly.

2dly. As to the prieſts of Egypt, it may be preſumed, that they, like other heathen prieſts, diſcouraged all free inquiry concerning the gods [a]: they might be inſtructed not to ſpeak openly of the earthly origin of Serapis, Iſis [b], and others; and, as their gods had been their kings, they might pretend that their kings were gods; and thus involve the ſubject in obſcurity. Nevertheleſs, the prieſts themſelves could not but acknowledge, that they had gods of mortal origin. This appears from the facts recited by Herodotus, upon their authority.

4. We muſt not paſs over the account given of the gods of Egypt by *Manetho*, becauſe it is ſuppoſed to militate againſt

[a] It ſeems to have been a maxim with the devout Pagans: — Sanctiuſque ac reverentius viſum de actis deorum credere quam ſcire. Tacit. Mor. Germ. c. 34.

[b] Quoniam fere in omnibus templis, ubi colebatur Iſis et Serapis, erat etiam ſimulachrum, quod digito labiis impreſſo admonere videretur, ut ſilentium fieret: hoc ſignificare idem Varro exiſtimat, ut homines eos fuiſſe taceretur. Auguſt. Civ. Dei, l. 18. c. 5.

that

that which I have attempted to ſupport. Manetho was chief-prieſt of Egypt in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and has given [c] us a table of the gods and demi-gods who reigned there before thoſe kings who were mere mortals; of whom, we are told, Menes was the firſt [d]: and from hence ſome have argued, that the Egyptians did not deify mere mortals. But the argument is inconcluſive: For it would not follow, from their having had, in the moſt ancient times, gods for their kings, that they did not afterwards exalt their kings into gods. As to the fact itſelf, the pretended reign of the gods, it is needleſs to point out the abſurdity of it, or to diſcredit the authority by which it is ſupported. What reduces it neareſt to the ſtandard of truth, is, the conjecture of a learned

[c] See Manetho, apud Syncell. p. 18. and Euſeb. Chron. Græc. p. 7. Compare the *Old Chronicle* current amongſt the Egyptians, an imperfect copy of which is preſerved by Syncellus, Chronograph. p. 51, 52.

[d] Herodot. l. 2. c. 4, 99.

writer,

writer[e], that, by the *gods*, we may underſtand ſome of the antediluvians; and, by the *demi-gods*, the anceſtors of the Egyptians after the flood down to the time of Menes.

5. Whatever judgement we may form of the fragments of Manetho, yet there can be no objection againſt the teſtimony of *Diodorus Siculus* concerning the gods of Egypt. He lived in an age when many had courage to inquire into the grounds of the public religion, and to ſpeak with freedom upon the ſubject. From this excellent writer we learn, that the Egyptians, beſides the ſun and moon, whom they called the *firſt* and *eternal gods*[f], acknowledged ſuch as *were taken from the earth*; ſeveral of whom, he ſays, *had been kings of Egypt*, and *bore the ſame*

[e] Jac. Perizon. Ægypt. Origin. tom. 1. p. 84.

[f] Τους δεη κατ' Αιγυπτον ανθρωπους το παλαιον γενομενους, αναβλεψαντας εις τον κοσμον, και την των ολων φυσιν καταπλαγεντας και θαυμασαντας, υπολαβειν ειναι δυο θεους αιδιους τε και πρωτους, τον τε ηλιον και την σεληνην. Diodor. Sic. p. 14. Weſſ.

names with the celeſtial gods [g]. He particularly ſpecifies the eight great gods of Egypt [h], *Sol*, *Saturn*, *Rhea*, *Jupiter*, (called alſo *Ammon* [i],) *Juno*, *Vulcan*, *Veſta*, and *Mercury* [k]. He adds, that *Sol*, whoſe name was the ſame with the ſun in the firmament, was the firſt king of Egypt; though ſome thought the firſt king of that country to be Vulcan, the inventor of fire, or of the firſt uſe of it in working metals [l]. Saturn and Rhea, according to the ſame author, reigned afterwards; of whom (it was generally ſaid) were born Jupiter and Juno, from whom ſprang the five following gods, *Oſiris*, *Iſis*, *Typhon*, *Apollo* [m], and *Venus*.

[g] Αλλως δ' εκ τουτων επιγενεσθαι φασιν, υπαρξαντας μεν θνητους, —— ων ενιους και βασιλεις γενεσθαι κατα την Αιγυπτον. —— Τινας μεν ομωνυμους υπαρχειν τοις ουρανιοις. Id. p. 17. Compare Euſeb. Præp. Ev. p. 45.

[h] Id. ib.

[i] Herodotus alſo (l. 2. c. 42.) ſays, Αμμωνα Αιγυπτιοι καλεουσι τον Δια.

[k] He was ſecretary to Oſiris. Diodor. Sic. lib. 1. p. 19, 20, 24.

[l] Diodor. Sic. l. 5. p. 390.

[m] The ſame as Orus. Herodot. l. 2. c. 144.

Oſiris

Oſiris and Iſis were the two principal [n] divinities of Egypt, in the manner of whoſe worſhip all the provinces of that country were agreed [o]. Now, Diodorus informs us, that Iſis and Oſiris (who, as we have ſeen, were born of the ſame parents) were king and queen of Egypt; that Oſiris conquered the moſt diſtant nations [p]; that he deified his parents [q], and was himſelf deified in his

[n] Plutarch. de Iſ. et Oſir. p. 355. E. ſays, that, as ſoon as Oſiris was born, a voice accompanied him, and proclaimed him, απαντων κυριος, *lord of all things.* He was ſaid to be the ſame as Bacchus. Herodot. l. 2. c. 42, 144. Diodorus Siculus, l. 1. p. 17. ed. Weſſ. Plutarch makes Bacchus a different perſon from Oſiris, but ſpeaks of him as one who had been a man. Differt. on Mir. p. 182. As to Iſis, Herodotus, l. 2. c. 40. tells us, that *ſhe is the goddeſs they* (the Egyptians) *eſteem the greateſt.* She was the ſame with Ceres, according to the Egyptians, (Herodot. l. 2. c. 59. Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 17.) who ſay, *ſhe firſt invented bread-corn.* Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 17, 18. Weſſ. Aug. Civ. Dei, l. 8. c. 27.

[o] Herodot. l. 2. c. 42.

[p] Lib. 1. p. 32. Compare Euſeb. Præp. Ev. l. 2. c. 1.

[q] Diodor. Sic. p. 24, 25. Vide Auguſt. Civ. Dei, l. 8. c. 27.

turn, and a third part of the lands appropriated to maintain his worſhip [r]; and that after his death he received equal honour with that paid to the celeſtial gods [s].

He very juſtly explodes the fable concerning the reign of gods and heroes in Egypt, and ſpeaks of it as countenanced only by a part of the Egyptians [t]. And, when he is treating concerning ſeveral of their great gods, he ſays, " the prieſts " had perfect information concerning " their *interment*, which they concealed " from the public, becauſe it was con- " fided to them as a ſecret, and it was " dangerous to divulge any ſecret re- " ſpecting the gods" [u].

6. Amongſt

[r] Diodor. Sic. p. 24, 25.

[s] Δια το μεγεθος των ευεργεσιων συμπεφοιτημενων λαβειν παρα πασι την αθανασιαν, και την ισην τοις αρχαιοις τιμην, κ. τ. λ. Diodor. Sic. p. 24.

[t] Μυθολογουσι δ' αυτων τινες το μεν πρωτον αρξαι της Αιγυπτου θεους τε και ηρωας, κ. τ. λ. Id. p. 53.

[u] Τα μεν ουν περι της ταφης των θειων τουτων διαφωνειται παρα τοις πλειστοις, δια το τους ιερεις, εν απορρητοις παρειληφοτας την περι

6. Amongſt all the ancient writers, who have given us an account of the religion of Egypt, there is not one who had ſtudied the ſubject with more attention, or who was more zealous to give his readers a favourable impreſſion of it, than *Plutarch*. His learned treatiſe, entitled, *Iſis and Oſiris*, was written on purpoſe to ſhew, that there was nothing abſurd or extravagant in the religious rites of the Egyptians; ſome inſtruction in hiſtory, morals, or philoſophy, being couched under them [w]. Nevertheleſs, from Plutarch we learn, that the *prieſts affirmed, that the bodies of their gods, except ſuch as were incorruptible and immortal, lay buried with them* [x].

περι τουτων ακριβειαν, μη βουλεσθαι τ' αληθες εκφερειν εις τους πολλους, ως αν και κινδυνων επικειμενων τοις τ' απορρητα περι των θειων τουτων μηνυσασιν εις τους οχλους. Id. p. 32.

[w] If. et Oſir. p. 353. E.

[x] Plutarch, having ſpoken of the *tomb of Oſiris*, and alluded to ſome other gods, adds: Ου μονον δε τουτων οι ιερεις λεγουσιν, αλλα και των αλλων θεων, οσοι μη αγεννητοι μηδε αφθαρτοι, τα μεν σωματα παρ' αυτοις κεισθαι καμοντα και θεραπευεσθαι. De If. et Oſir. p. 359. C. Nevertheleſs,

As to *Iſis* and *Oſiris* in particular, Plutarch gives us at large the hiſtory of their parentage, their births, their kindred, their exploits, their deaths [y]. He allegorizes ſome part of their hiſtory, and ſeems to think there was a hidden meaning in the whole of it, agreeably to the main deſign of his work, which was to reconcile the Egyptian theology with the principles of reaſon; yet their hiſtory was underſtood literally by the people; nor was it lawful to divulge the philoſophical explication of it [z]. Agreeably to the repreſentation Plutarch makes of Oſiris as a man, he tells us, that *he was every where worſhipped under a human form* [a]. With reſpect to *Hermes*, *Typhon*,

theleſs, Mr. Fell, in the ſtile of a perſon well acquainted with Plutarch, ſays, p. 83. that *Plutarch was very careful never to attribute this opinion* (viz. that the gods of Egypt had been men) *to the Egyptian prieſts*.

[y] As to the place of Oſiris's burial, ſee Plutarch de Iſ. et Oſir. p. 359.

[z] Id. ib. p. 360. E. F.

[a] Πανταχυ ανθρωπομορφον Οσιριδος αγαλμα δεικνυουσι. Plutarch. de Iſ. et Oſir. p. 371.

(the

(the brother of Oſiris, whom he ſlew [b],) and *Orus*, as well as *Oſiris*, Plutarch acknowledges, that the deſcription, given by the Egyptians, of the figure and colour of their bodies, plainly ſuppoſed they had been mere men [c]. Concerning Iſis and Oſiris, he ſays, *they were, for their virtue, changed from good demons into gods, as were Hercules and Bacchus afterwards, receiving the united honours both of gods and demons* [d].

It would be endleſs to produce all the proofs of the worſhip of human ſpirits, in Egypt, from heathen writers who only occaſionally make mention of the gods of that country. *Plato* ſpeaks of *Theuth*, who flouriſhed in the reign of *Thamus*, king of Egypt, as one of the an-

[b] Diodor. Sic. p. 24.

[c] Ως τη φυσει γεγονοτας ανθρωπους. Plutarch. Iſ. et Oſir. p. 359. E. Euſeb. Præp. Ev. l. 3. c. 91.

[d] Plutarch. de Iſ. et Oſir. p. 361. Diſſert. on Mir. p. 182. I might add, that Venus Beleſtica, the ſlave of an Egyptian monarch, had a temple erected to her at Alexandria. Plutarch. in Erotico, p. 753. E. F.

cient gods [e]. *Lucian* repreſents Alexander, after he was dead, as hoping to be buried in Egypt, *that he might become one of the gods of that country* [f]. In Egypt, ſays *Maximus Tyrius*, they ſhew you at once the *temple* of a god and his *tomb* [g]. The Latin writers ſpeak the ſame language. *Varro* [h] conſidered Iſis and Serapis as having once belonged to the human race. *Apuleius* ranks Oſiris amongſt thoſe men who were raiſed to the rank of gods [i]. *Lucan* goes farther, and urges the mournful or funeral rites, with which Oſiris was honoured by the Egyptians, as *their* teſtimony to his having been a mortal

[e] Ηκουσα τοινυν, περι Ναυκρατιν της Αιγυπτου γενεσθαι των εκει παλαιων τινα θεων, κ. τ. λ. Platonis Phædrus, p. 274. c. ed. Serrani. Theuth is ſaid, in the ſequel, to have invented arithmetic, geometry, aſtronomy, and letters. See what is ſaid above concerning Mercury, p. 111. and p. 141.

[f] Ως γενοιμην εις των Αιγυπτιων θεων. Lucian. Dialog. Mort. p. 291.

[g] Δεικνυται παρ' αυτοις ιερον θεου, και ταφος θεου. Maximus Tyrius, Diſſert. 38. p. 398.

[h] Cited above, p. 159. note [b].

[i] Above, p. 97. note [b].

man.

man. His argument proves, that he was publicly worſhipped under that very character [k].

I would here cloſe the evidence of the worſhip of human ſpirits in Egypt, if it were not neceſſary to conſider the character of the Egyptian Hercules; which I did not enter upon ſooner, becauſe the proofs of his having been a man are furniſhed, not by one only, but by ſeveral of the forementioned writers. Herodotus [l], in order to ſhew that the

[k] Tu plangens hominem teſtaris Oſirin.
Lucan. VIII. 833.

This paſſage, and others to the ſame purpoſe, were cited in the Diſſertation on Mir. p. 194. 182. Lucan's judgement of Oſiris has alſo been confirmed here by freſh teſtimonies. Nevertheleſs Mr. Fell is pleaſed to ſay, p. 24. "It is not in my power to prove, that religious honours were ever paid to any deceaſed man "under the name of Oſiris." This language implies, that no proof of this point had been produced in the Diſſertation; — that no proof of it could be produced; — and that Mr. Fell's knowledge of antiquity rendered him a competent judge of what could or could not be proved concerning Oſiris. I leave the reader to form his own judgement concerning theſe three propoſitions.

[l] Lib. 2. c. 43, 44.

Grecians

Grecians borrowed the name of this god from the Egyptians, and not the Egyptians from the Grecians, obſerves, that Hercules was one of the ancient gods of the Egyptians; who ſaid, that, ſeventeen thouſand years before the reign of Amaſis, the number of their gods, which had been eight, was increaſed to twelve; and that Hercules was one of theſe. He farther informs us, that there was a temple dedicated to Hercules at Tyre, which was ſaid to have been built two thouſand three hundred years; and that, in the ſame city, there was a temple erected to Hercules under the name of *Thaſian*; and that the ſame god had a temple at Thaſus, which was built by the Phenicians five generations before the public appearance of Hercules in Greece. Now, what is the inference which Herodotus draws from theſe premiſes? Why, *that Hercules* (meaning the Egyptian) *was a very ancient god*[m];

[m] Τα μεν νυν ισορημενα δηλοι σαφεως παλαιον θεον τον Ηρακλεα εοντα. Lib. 2. c. 44. Herodotus makes mention of a *ſtatue* of the Egyptian Hercules, c. 42.

that

that is, in compariſon with the Grecian. He deſcribes the latter as the ſon of Amphitryon and Alcmena; and ſays, that both his parents were of Egyptian deſcent[a]. Now, if he knew that the Grecian Hercules was a man, he certainly believed the Egyptian to be ſo too. Why, otherwiſe, did he compare their different ages together? Would he take pains to ſhew, that a natural, that is, an eternal[b], god was only ſome thouſand years older than one who, comparatively ſpeaking, was but lately born? Beſides, according to Herodotus, there were eight gods in Egypt more ancient than Hercules. Nor does the hiſtorian aſcribe to him any pre-eminence above the ſon of Amphitryon, except great ſeniority, and the higher rank to which he was exalted in conſequence of it. For, from his greater antiquity, he

[a] Lib. 2. c. 43.

[b] The ancients called the natural gods, ἀιδιους και ἀφθαρτους. Diodor. Siculus, Fragmenta ex lib. vi. p. 633. ed. Weſſ.

draws

draws this concluſion: therefore *thoſe Greeks act right, who build temples to two of them, and ſacrifice to one as an immortal god, under the name of Olympian, and honour the other as a hero*[p].

We have here, — ſays a late writer[q], *two gods of the ſame name; the one a natural and immortal deity, ſtiled Olympian; the other an hero-god, acknowledged to have been once a mortal man; each having ſeparate temples and diſtinct worſhip, agreeable to the ſuppoſed difference of their natures and characters.* The gentleman would not have reaſoned in this manner, had he been acquainted with the ſentiments of antiquity on theſe ſubjects, or had he only conſidered what was proved in the Diſſertation on Miracles[r], and will be farther eſtabliſhed in the ſequel; *viz.* that, according to the Heathens, ſome human ſouls commenced firſt heroes, and then demons, and were afterwards exalted into gods. Then they

[p] Herodot. l. 2. c. 44.
[q] Fell, p. 13.
[r] P. 182, 183, 214.

were

were received into the ſtarry heaven, or *ætherial*[s] region, the ſeat of the *immortal* divinities, ſometimes called *Olympus*[t]. The Hercules who attained to this honour was, on this account, very properly ſtiled *Olympian*, to diſtinguiſh him from the other, while he had not yet riſen above the rank of a hero, and, as ſuch, reſided in the regions of the *air*

[s] Varro, l. 16. apud Auguſt. Civ. Dei, l. 7. c. 6. ſays: A ſummo circuitu cœli, uſque ad circulum lunæ, æthereæ animæ ſunt aſtra et ſtellæ; iique cœleſtes dii non modo intelliguntur eſſe, ſed etiam videntur. Inter lunæ vero gyrum, et nimborum ac ventorum cacumina, aereæ ſunt animæ: ſed eæ animo, non oculis, videntur; et vocantur heroes, et lares, et genii. So Lucan alſo, l. ix. v. 6. et ſeq.

Quodque patet terras inter, cœlique meatus,
Semidei manes habitant; quos ignea virtus
Innocuos vita, patientes ætheris imi,
Fecit, et æternos animam conlegit in orbes.

See below, note [x].

[t] Viam affectat Olympo. Virg. iv. 562. — Μονες ανομασεν Ολυμπιες. Diodor. Sic. l. 4. p. 261. ed. Weſſ. Anubis, who accompanied Oſiris in his expedition, (id. l. 1. p. 21.) clothed in a dog's ſkin, is repreſented by Plutarch as being both terreſtrial and Olympic. If. et Oſir. p. 368. E.

neareſt

neareſt to the ſtars. In length of time, the Grecian Hercules became a god, and was worſhipped as ſuch [u]. The Roman writers expreſſly ſpeak of Hercules as having been a man [v], and yet rank him amongſt thoſe who were received into the ſtarry or ætherial heaven, and admitted into the community of the great gods [x]. He is repreſented with Jupiter, on ſome old altars and relievos, with an inſcription [y] fully expreſſive of this dignity. In like manner, the Egyptian Hercules was ranked with the great gods, though he alſo was of human ex-

[u] Pauſanias, Corinthiac. l. 2. c. 10. p. 133. ed. Kuhnii.

[v] The Roman law was: Eos, qui cœleſtes ſemper habiti, colunto; et ollos quos endo cœlo merita collocaverunt, Herculem, &c. Cicero, de Legib. l. 2. c. 8. Laws of the 12 Tab. 2. ſect. 4.

[x] Poſt ingentia facta, deorum in templa recepti. Horat. Ep. l. 2. ep. 1. v. 7. Arces attigit igneas. Lib. 3. ode 3. v. 17. Hercules was one of the few, quos ardens evexit ad *æthera* virtus, as Virgil ſpeaks, Æn. VI. 130. See Silius Italicus, l. 15. v. 83.

[y] *Diis magnis, to the great gods.* Montfaucon, v. 1. p. 16, 47.

tract.

tract. The Olympian Jupiter himſelf had been a man [z].

It is only neceſſary to add farther, that the worſhip of heroes was different from that paid to ſuch human ſouls as were advanced to a more ſublime degree [a]: and therefore the ſeparate temples and diſtinct worſhip of the Olympian, and of the hero, Hercules, are improperly urged as proofs of their being originally of different natures from one another. For, if the Hercules of Egypt, though not ſo old as ſome other gods of that country, was nevertheleſs much more ancient than the Hercules of Greece, and advanced to the dignity of the celeſtial gods, Herodotus, on the ſuppoſition that both of them had been men, would conclude that the former ought to be worſhipped as an immortal or Olympian divinity, and the latter merely

[z] Diodor. Sic. l. 3. p. 229, 230.

[a] See Pauſanias, p. 133. Diſſert. on Mir. p. 182, 183. — The ſubject will come under future conſideration.

with

with the rites to which heroes were entitled before they became gods. According to Diodorus Siculus [b], the Egyptian Hercules was not only older than the Grecian, but even than any other; conquered a great part of the world, and ſet up pillars in Afric. He was general of the forces of Oſiris [c]. Plutarch makes mention of him amongſt thoſe who, after death, were changed from good demons into gods [d]. But, though of human extract, Hercules was worſhipped in Egypt with the moſt ſacred and auguſt ceremonies [e].

[b] Lib. 3. p. 243. [c] Id. p. 20.

[d] Diſſert. on Mir. p. 182. See Diodor. Sic. p. 3.

[e] Deus Hercules religione quidem apud Tyron colitur: verum ſacratiſſima et auguſtiſſima Egyptii religione venerantur, ultraque memoriam (quæ apud illos retro longiſſima eſt) ut carentem initio colunt. Macrob. Saturn. l. 1. c. 20. — By Hercules we are to underſtand the ſun, according to Macrobius; and this opinion has been adopted by ſome learned moderns. But the civil theology ſuppoſed the truth of the literal hiſtory, and was indeed built upon it. Several gods bore the name of Hercules, (Cicero, Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 16.) but they were repreſented to the people, and regarded by them, as having been men.

I ſhall

I ſhall produce no more heathen authorities in ſupport of the point I undertook to eſtabliſh. If we reject the foregoing account given of the gods of Egypt by the Roman, Greek [f], Phenician, and Egyptian, writers, moſt of whom ſpoke from their own perſonal knowledge, it will be difficult to ſay on whoſe teſtimony we can ſafely rely.

Nor is there any reaſon to aſſert, as the learned Jablonſki [g] does, that the Greeks, during the reign of Alexander's ſucceſſors in Egypt, corrupted the religion of that country, and that later wri-

[f] The Greek writers, whoſe teſtimony has been urged above, are Herodotus, Plato, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, Lucian, and Maximus Tyrius. Mr. Fell muſt have been unacquainted with all theſe teſtimonies, (even with that of Diodorus Siculus, well known to every other writer upon this ſubject,) when he affirmed, p. 31. "There "can be *no doubt* but that the Greeks themſelves have "declared, that the Egyptians never worſhipped ſuch "gods as had been men." But this gentleman is often ſo unfortunate, as, in proof of his erroneous aſſertions, to appeal to thoſe very authorities which contradict them. See above, p. 30, 136.

[g] Prolegom. p. 42.

ters have miſrepreſented it. No proof of this aſſertion has been produced. The Egyptians, when under the dominion of the Ptolemys, might adopt new gods [h]; but this was perfectly conſiſtent with the general principles of the heathen religion [i]. There is a perfect agreement between the accounts given of the Egyptian gods, by thoſe writers who lived long before the age of the firſt Ptolemy, and by thoſe who lived after it. Their having two claſſes of gods, one natural, the other mortal, is not more ſtrongly aſſerted by Diodorus and Plutarch, than it is by Hermes Triſmegiſtus and Sanchoniathon. And Herodotus, againſt

[h] Macrobius thought this to be the caſe with reſpect to Saturn and Serapis. Saturnal. l. 1. c. 7. p. 150. ed. Londini, 1694. But his memory ſeems to have failed him here. Serapis was worſhipped in Egypt long before the time of Ptolemy, who introduced his worſhip amongſt the Athenians. See Auguſt. Civ. Dei, l. 18, c. 5. and Pauſanias, Attic. p. 42. ed. Kuhnii. Saturn was a god of great antiquity in Egypt and Phenicia.

[i] See what was ſaid above concerning the Gauls, p. 113.

whoſe

whoſe teſtimony no objection is made, has recorded numerous examples of the worſhip of human ſpirits in Egypt, upon the authority of the prieſts themſelves. But the objection muſt ſink under it's own weight: for, what Greece was to Rome, that Egypt was to Greece; — the revered ſource of ſcience and religion. And it is as unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the Greeks, during the reign of the Ptolemys, changed the religion of Egypt, as it would be to ſuppoſe, that the Romans changed the religion of Greece, after their conqueſt of that country, which was likely to produce a contrary effect[k]. The Egyptians obſtinately adhered even to thoſe parts of their religion which gave moſt offence to foreign nations: I refer to their worſhip of brutes and vegetables, which they practiſed in a much higher degree than any other people.

The foregoing teſtimonies might be confirmed by arguments drawn from the

[k] The Roman worſhip became gradually more and more conformable to the Grecian. Dionyſ. Hal. Antiq. Rom. l. 2. c. 18, 19, 20.

religious rites [1] of the Egyptians, from their myſteries, and pyramids; and likewiſe from the opinion of the Fathers and other Chriſtian writers [m]. But theſe arguments will come under future con-

[1] Particularly from human ſacrifices. It muſt however be acknowledged, to the honour of the Egyptians, that ſuch ſacrifices were not ſo common amongſt them as they were in other nations. Herodotus (l. 2. c. 45.) thought it improbable that they ever offered them: but his reaſon is not very concluſive. Macrobius (Saturnal. l. 1. c. 7. p. 150.) ſays, they did not offer any bloody ſacrifice: but herein he contradicts Herodotus, ubi ſupra. Plutarch relates, (De Iſ. et Oſir. p. 380.) upon the authority of Manetho, that men were burnt alive in the city of Elithya. And Diodorus Siculus (l. 1. p. 99. Weſſ.) mentions a very remarkable circumſtance; viz. that they were ſacrificed at the tomb of Oſiris: which ſhews to what gods ſuch ſacrifices were offered. Human ſacrifices were aboliſhed by Amoſis. Porphyry, de Abſtinentia, l. 2. c. 223. ed. Lugdun. Euſeb. Præp. Ev. l. 4. c. 16. p. 155. But they were revived by Buſiris, to avert a national calamity. Apollodorus, Bibliothec. l. 2. p. 118, 119.

[m] See, in particular, Euſeb. Præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 6. p. 17. and l. 3. c. 3. Auguſt. de Civ. Dei, l. 8. c. 5, 26. and l. 18. c. 5. Suidas (in voc. Σαραπις) ſays, that Apis was king of Memphis, and obtained, after death, divine honours for his liberality, in ſupplying the citizens of Alexandria with corn, in time of famine.

ſideration.

ſideration. If I take notice of the ancient Chriſtians in this place, it is for the ſake of clearing them from the charge of forgery: for, as a forgery of theirs, ſome [n] conſider the celebrated letter of Alexander to his mother; in which he is ſaid to have communicated to her the ſecret of the myſteries, intruſted to him by the high-prieſt of Egypt, concerning the human origin of the great gods. But, ſuppoſing the letter in queſtion to be a forgery, there is no more reaſon for aſcribing it to the Chriſtians, than to thoſe Heathens who openly aſſerted that their gods had once been men. It is not certain, however, that it was a forgery. Plutarch ſeems to refer to it when he ſays, Alexander informed his mother in a letter, "that he had received "ſome ſecret anſwers, which, at his "return, he would communicate to her "only [o]." The connexion of the place

[n] Jablonſki, p. 31.

[o] Plutarch. Vit. Alexandri, p. 688. F.

leads us to apply this to the origin of the gods: for Plutarch had been juſt before relating what the high-prieſt ſaid to Alexander concerning his divine deſcent. As to it's being paſſed over in ſilence by Cicero, Diodorus Siculus, and ſome other heathen writers, (a circumſtance on which great ſtreſs is [p] laid,) the reaſon of it plainly was, their having more authentic information concerning the great ſecret [q] of the myſteries than a private letter, the genuineneſs of which might be ſuſpected, and the contents of which were probably preſerved only by tradition, and therefore variouſly reported. The credit given to it by the Fathers [r] muſt be conſidered as a proof of *their opinion* concerning the gods of Egypt.

[p] Jablonſki, Prolegom. p. 32.

[q] See Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 24. ed. Weſſ.

[r] Athenag. Legat. pro Chriſtian. p. 24. Minut. Felix, Octav. c. 21. Auguſt. Civ. Dei, l. 8. c. 5. and l. 12. c. 10. Cyprian. de Idol. Vanitat. p. 12. ed. Oxon.

From

From the various teſtimonies [a] which have been produced, in this and the preceding ſection, it appears, that both the Phenicians and Egyptians, though they acknowledged elementary and ſidereal deities, and aſſerted more eſpecially the divinity of the ſun and moon, did alſo worſhip human ſpirits: and that the Egyptians worſhipped them under the diſtinct characters of heroes, demons, and gods. — It farther appears, that both the Phenicians and Egyptians accounted their princes and eminent benefactors as *the greateſt gods*. The twelve great gods of Egypt in particular, as well as the Cabirs of Phenicia and the eaſtern nations, were dead men deified. — Laſtly,

[a] Mr. Fell affirms, p. 22, 83. that "it is UNIVERSALLY KNOWN, that the Egyptians —— never paid any religious honours to hero-gods." The reader may from hence judge how great a ſtranger the gentleman was to the Roman, the Greek, the Phenician, and the Egyptian, writers, and alſo to the Fathers. His ignorance of antiquity, both heathen and chriſtian, would not have been noticed, had it not been proper that it ſhould be known what credit is due to his moſt confident aſſertions.

the foregoing teſtimonies prove, that deified men were the *immediate* objects of the public eſtabliſhed worſhip in Egypt, as they alſo were in Phenicia.

I am, however, far from denying, that, in the hiſtory and worſhip of theſe terreſtrial gods, there was an ultimate reference to the deified parts and powers of nature. And it is certain, that the civil or vulgar theology was explained *phyſically* by the learned. But with their explanations we have here no concern; and therefore I paſs over at preſent what occurs upon this ſubject in Plutarch, Porphyry, Jamblichus, Macrobius, and other heathen writers.

SECT. III.

I Proceed to ſhew, that the cuſtom of deifying human ſpirits prevailed amongſt the ASSYRIANS, CHALDEANS, and BABYLONIANS.

Very little is known of the religion of Aſſyria, conſidered as a kingdom diſtinct from

from that of Babylon. Both kingdoms were afterwards united into one mighty empire, which was called indifferently Aſſyrian and Babylonian [u]. The Chaldeans in Babylon, according to Diodorus Siculus, were a colony of Egyptians [w], carried there by Belus, the ſon of Neptune and Libya, who granted the prieſts the ſame immunities as were enjoyed by thoſe in Egypt [x]. This agrees with what Lucian teſtifies [y], that the Aſſyrians derived their theology and religious rites from the Egyptians, and in honour of the gods erected temples, and placed in them ſtatues and images (proper repreſentations of ſuch gods as had been men). Now, if the religion of Aſſyria and Babylon was derived from

[u] The Aſſyrians and Babylonians are the ſame people. Herodot. l. 1. c. 199, 200. Babylon is reckoned the principal city in Aſſyria. Ib. c. 178. Strabo ſays the ſame thing. L. 16. ſub init. Biſhop Lowth on Iſ. 14, 25. Compare the Anc. Univerſ. Hiſt. v. 4. p. 390. 8vo. 1747.

[w] Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 92. ed. Weſſ.

[x] Id. ib. p. 32. [y] De Syr. Dea, p. 657.

Egypt,

Egypt, the former muſt have been in a great meaſure the ſame with that of the latter, which conſiſted, in part, in the worſhip of human ſpirits.

It is on all hands allowed, that the *Chaldean* idolatry, called alſo the *Sabian*, conſiſted very much, at leaſt originally, in the worſhip of the ſun, moon, and ſtars; which were conceived to be ſeverally animated by a ſoul, in the ſame manner as the human body is. Very probably they were alſo thought to be inhabited by the ſpirits of illuſtrious men: for it was an opinion generally received, that the ſpirits of ſuch men, when ſeparated from their bodies, returned to their native ſkies: and, as various rites were uſed to draw down ſouls from the ſtars into conſecrated images and ſhrines [z], it is much more likely that thoſe rites ſhould reſpect the ſouls that only *inhabited* the celeſtial orbs, than

[z] See Hottinger's Hiſt. Orient. l. 1. c. 7. p. 296. et ſeq. and Pococke's notes on Abul-pharai, Specimen Hiſt. Arab. p. 138. et ſeq.

ſuch

ſuch as were *united to* them and *animated* them, as the human ſoul is united to, and animates, the body. Now, their ſacred ſhrines were conſulted as oracles, and worſhipped as gods [z].

The chief god of the Babylonians was *Bel.* The queſtion here is, who this god was. *Bel* (called by the Greeks *Belus*) in the Chaldee [a] dialect anſwers to the Hebrew *Baal*, and to the Syriac [b] *Beel*, and ſignifies *lord*. This term therefore might be applied to the true God; but it is commonly given in ſcripture to thoſe fictitious deities, who were falſely ſuppoſed to have dominion over mankind [c].

[z] See note [z] in the preceding page.

[a] Iſaiah xlvi. 1. [b] Ez. iv. 8.

[c] Populus Dei ſatis pie eum Baalem ſuum vocabant, priuſquam, ob vocem illam ad profana numina frequenter nimis traductam, id ipſum Deus vetaret. Selden, de Diis Syr. Syntag. II. c. 1. p. 196. And, in p. 200, 201. the ſame learned writer ſays: Belus enim primo ſummum rerum gubernatorem denotabat — graſſante vero hominum errore, ad idola transferebatur; *et ſeq.*

But

But was the Bel, who was worſhipped at Babylon, the true God? A late writer [d] cites from Dr. Cudworth [e] a paſſage of Beroſus, in which Bel is ſaid *to have framed* (or ſet in order) *the world, and formed* (or perfected) *the ſtars and the ſun* [f]. It is here aſked [d], *Can any one imagine,* —— *that he, who created the heaven and the earth, received his name from ſome petty prince in the time of Abraham? Surely not,* ſays the ſame writer. It is impoſſible here to forbear obſerving, 1ſt. That Beroſus [g] was the prieſt of Belus in the time of Alexander. Now, from the ſacred writings it appears, that for many ages before his time the Babylonians were groſs idolaters [h]; and conſequently

[d] Fell, p. 23. [e] P. 312.

[f] Τον δε Βηλον, ον Δια μεθερμηνευουσι, —— διαταξαι τον κοσμον, —— αποτελεσαι δε τον Βηλον και αχρα, και ηλιον, και σεληνην, και τους πεντε πλανητας.

[g] Extracts from Beroſus were made by Africanus, Apollodorus, Alexander Polyhiſtor, and Abydenus. Of theſe extracts, fragments have been preſerved by Euſebius and Syncellus.

[h] Joſh. xxiv. 2,

not

not likely to worſhip the Creator of heaven and earth. 2dly. It is certain they did not worſhip him under the name of *Bel*, becauſe the Babylonian Bel is ſpoken of in Scripture as a falſe god [i]. 3dly. No proof is produced to ſhew, that the Belus, ſpoken of by Beroſus in the fore-cited paſſage, was worſhipped at all by the Babylonians. Laſtly. Had not the writer * alluded to above been unacquainted with the account given by Beroſus of this god, he would not have paſſed him off upon his readers as the Creator of heaven and earth. Belus, according to Beroſus [k], (the very authority appealed to by Mr. Fell *,) cut off his own head; from the blood of which,

[i] *Bel boweth down; Nebo ſtoopeth; their idols*, &c. Iſ. xlvi. 1. — *Babylon is taken; Bel is confounded; Merodach is broken in pieces.* Jerem. l. 2. — *I will puniſh Bel in Babylon.* Ch. li. 44. — Would God's prophets ſay of the Creator of heaven and earth, *He is bowed down, and confounded*; and repreſent God himſelf as threatening to *puniſh* him?

* Fell, p. 23.

[k] Ap. Euſeb. Chronicon, p. 5. et Syncelli Chronograph. p. 28.

when

when mixed with the earth by the *other gods*, men were formed: but they could not bear the light, and therefore he ordered one of the gods to cut off his head, which he himſelf had cut off before, and to mix the blood with the earth, and from thence to form other men and animals. This experiment ſucceeded better. There is nothing in this account that looks like *creation*, as that word imports the bringing into being what had no exiſtence before in any form. Nor indeed could any thing be more repugnant to the ideas of Beroſus, concerning the *generation* of the world, than the *creation* of it. Leaſt of all was it poſſible for him to conceive, that a god, who had been beheaded by other gods, was the Creator of heaven and earth.

Bel was a name or title given to ſeveral princes; particularly to the founder of the Babylonian empire. We have already ſeen [1], that a perſon of this name

[1] P. 185.

carried

carried colonies from Egypt into Babylonia. Abydenus [m], whoſe hiſtory is extracted from the ancient records of the Chaldeans, ſays, "it is reported "that Belus compaſſed Babylon with a "wall." We are told by Sanchoniathon [n], that Saturn had three ſons born in Peræa; viz. *Saturn*, ſo called after his father, *Jupiter Belus*, and *Apollo*. Saturn, the father of Jupiter [o] Belus, was a Phenician deity; and this ſon was perhaps the Babylonian Belus. It is certain that Belus, who built Babylon, is ſometimes ſpoken of as *a Tyrian*; particularly by Dorotheus Sidonius [p], cited by Julius Firmicus. But Pauſanias [q]

[m] Ap. Euſeb. P. E. l. 9. c. 41.

[n] Ap. eund. P. E. l. 1. p. 37. D. p. 38. A.

[o] As to the prefixing the term *Jupiter* to Belus, inſtances of a ſimilar nature frequently occur. We read of Jupiter Aratrius, above, p. 141. Jupiter Ammon, p. 85. More examples will occur in the ſequel. See alſo Sir Iſ. Newton's Chronology, p. 150, 152, 162. and Jac. Perizon. Ægypt. Orig. tom. 1. p. 83.

[p] Αρχαιη Βαβυλων, Τυριε Βηλοιο πολισμα.

[q] L. 4. c. 23. p. 337.

ſays,

ſays, that he had his name from Belus an Egyptian. Phenicia being ſometimes conſidered as belonging to Egypt, there may be no contradiction between Pauſanias and Dorotheus. I do not take upon me to determine abſolutely who Belus was; nor do I here inquire, whether he be the *Nimrod* or the *Pul* ſpoken of in Scripture[r]. It is ſufficient for our purpoſe, that there was ſuch a perſon, and that he was the founder of the Babylonian empire. Nebuchadnezzar[s] ſpeaks of himſelf as deſcended from him; and he is referred to by Virgil[t], not as Dido's father, but as one of her

[r] Jac. Perizon. Origin. Babylon. tom. 2. p. 152. et ſeq. and Freinſhemius, in his notes on Quintus Curtius, l. 5. p. 310, 311. attempt to prove, that Belus was the *Nimrod* ſpoken of Gen. x. 8. But the authors of the Univerſal Hiſt. v. 4. p. 352. think that Belus was the ſame as *Pul*. See alſo p. 309. in the note.

[s] Ο τε Βηλος εμος προγονος, η τε Βασιλεια Βηλτις. Euſeb. P. Ev. l. 9. c. 41. p. 456.

[t] Implevitque mero pateram, quam Belus et omnes
A Belo ſoliti. —— Æn. I. 733.

remote

remote anceſtors [u]. Servius, on the place, makes him the firſt king of Aſſyria.

Let us conſider what evidence there is, that this Belus (whether he was an Egyptian, a Phenician, or a Babylonian) was deified after his death. If he be, as ſome ſuppoſe, the Nimrod of the Bible [w], he was, as we have already ſhewn [x], ranked amongſt the gods by the Perſians, who ſucceeded to his empire: a plain proof that he was firſt worſhipped at Babylon. Dionyſius [y] expreſſly in-

[u] This is implied in the expreſſion, *omnes a Belo, all the deſcendents of Belus.* Between Dido and her own father none intervened.

[w] This hypotheſis is favoured by the language of Ammianus Marcellinus, l. xxiii. c. 6. p. 286. Babylon, cujus mœnia bitumine Semiramis ſtruxit; arcem enim *antiquiſſimus* rex condidit Belus. — Ælian calls him, emphatically, του Βηλου του αρχαιου, Belum illum antiquum. Var. Hiſt. l. 13. c. 3. And Oroſius, II. 6. Babyloniam a Nimrod gigante fundatam; a Nino vel Semiramide reparatam.

[x] Above, p. 72.

[y] Μεγαν δομον ιδρυσατο Βηλω. Dionyſ. Περιηγησ. c. 25. v. 825. — This temple of Belus was afterwards adorned by Nebuchadnezzar. Joſeph. Antiq. l. 10. c. 11. §. 1.

forms us, that a temple was erected to him by Semiramis in that city. From the deſcription, given of the temple of Belus by Herodotus[z], it appears that it was built in the form of the Egyptian pyramids[a]. Now, as the latter were ſepulchres[b] as well as temples, the former muſt be conſidered in this double view. The image of Jupiter Belus, which was placed on a throne, at a table, in the chapel which ſtood below, within the temple, clearly ſhews who was repreſented by it. And, though there was a temple in the uppermoſt tower, in which no image was placed, (from which circumſtance ſome learned writers[c] have concluded, that "the honour of the "temple of Belus was meant to be di-"vided between him and the true god,") yet in the uppermoſt temple there was a table, a bed, and a woman choſen by

[z] Lib. 1. c. 181.

[a] Sir Iſ. Newton's Chronology, p. 327, 328.

[b] See below, ch. 3.

[c] Anc. Univerſal Hiſt. vol. 4. p. 352.

the

the god himſelf, who was ſuppoſed to come by night and lie in the bed [d]. Could this god be conſidered by the Chaldeans as that eternal Spirit who created the univerſe? Were not the accommodations provided for him more ſuitable to their ideas of human nature? Certain it is in fact, that it was to deified men that the like proviſion was made in other countries [e].

Were it poſſible ſtill to doubt, whether the founder of the Aſſyrian and Babylonian empire was worſhipped in the

[d] Herodot. l. 1. c. 182.

[e] In the temple of the *Triphilian Jupiter*, who is repreſented as having been a man, there was a bed and a table. Diodor. Sic. l. 5. p. 368. ed. Weſſ. — The keeper of the temple of *Hercules* provided for him a bed, a ſupper, and the beautiful Laurentia. Plutarch. Vit. Romuli, p. 20. — In Indoſtan the Heathens ſupply their idol *Jagannat* with the faireſt virgin they can procure. Bernier's Memoirs, tom. 3. p. 112. Engl. Tranſlat. — And, in the temple of *Jupiter*, at Thebes in Egypt, there was a woman who was ſuppoſed to be viſited by the god at night, agreeably to the account given of Belus by the Babylonians. Herodot. l. 1. c. 181. Compare Strabo, l. 17. p. 1171.

temple of Belus at Babylon, I might appeal to *Euſebius* [f], who tells us, that Belus, the firſt king of the Aſſyrians, was deified after his death: to *Jerome* [g], who, in more places than one, ſpeaks of him as having been conſecrated and ranked amongſt the gods by his ſon Ninus: and to *Lactantius* [h], and the authors cited by him, who affirm, that Belus was worſhipped by the Aſſyrians and Babylonians [i]. I do not affirm, that

[f] Euſeb. Chronicon, l. 1. p. 9. Tharæ anno 28. Aſſyriorum rex primus Belus mortuus eſt, quem Aſſyrii deum, et alii dicunt Saturnum.

[g] Idolum Baal, ſive Bel, et, ut apertius dicam, Beli, Aſſyriorum religio eſt, conſecrata a Nino, Beli filio, in honorem patris. Hieronymus in Ezek. c. 23. — Ninus in tantam pervenit gloriam, ut patrem ſuum Belum referret in deum, qui Hebraice dicitur בַּל. Hunc Sidonii et Phœnices appellant בַּעַל. Id. in Oſea, c. 2.

[h] Belus, quem Babylonii et Aſſyrii colunt, antiquior Trojano bello fuiſſe invenitur trecentis viginti duobus annis: Belum autem Saturno æqualem fuiſſe, et utrumque uno tempore adoleviſſe. Lactant. Div. Inſtitut. l. 1. c. 23.

[i] A gentleman, who often aſſumes the language of a perſon who has a comprehenſive view of the ſubject on which

that the term *Bel* was never explained phyſically, and applied to the ſun, by learned men, as Oſiris [k] alſo ſometimes was: for the ancients gave the names of their deified kings to the heavenly bodies [l]. But the temple of Babylon was erected in honour of a man who founded the Babylonian empire, agreeably to the cuſtom of the Heathens in the like caſes. And this Belus was the god whom the Babylonians principally worſhipped [m].

As Jupiter Belus was the chief god of the Babylonians, ſo their principal god-

which he writes, roundly affirms, that *it is not in my power to prove, that religious honours were ever paid to a deceaſed man under the name of Bel.* Fell, p. 24. Some however may doubt, whether his knowledge of his ſubject be altogether anſwerable to the import of his language. He ſeems to have known as little of the *Indian* Bel as of the *Babylonian*. Cicero, when reckoning up the ſeveral gods who bore the name of Hercules, ſays, Quintus in India, qui *Belus* dicitur. Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 16.

[k] Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 14. ed. Weſſ.

[l] See above, p. 135, 161, 162.

[m] Οι μαλιστα θεων τιμωσι Βαβυλωνιοι. Arrian. Exped. Alex. l. 3. p. 127. ed. Gronov.

deſs was *Venus* or *Mylitta* [n]. She was the ſame with the Perſian Mitra [o], the Phenician Aſtarte [p], and the great Syrian goddeſs [q]; and therefore was certainly worſhipped under a human character. The title of *celeſtial Venus* [r] was probably given her becauſe ſhe was worſhipped in the planet of that name, or in the moon. She is ſometimes called *Juno*; under which name ſhe was adored by the Sidonians and Carthaginians [s]. Some have thought, that this goddeſs was the famed Semiramis [t], who, having extended her empire over a large part of the Eaſt, was likely to receive divine honours from the nations of Aſia. As to her being worſhipped under both

[n] Herodot. l. 1. c. 131. cited above, p. 48.

[o] Above, p. 68. [p] P. 142.

[q] See the next ſection.

[r] Πλησιον δε ιερον εστιν Αφροδιτης ουρανιας· πρωτοις δε ανθρωπων Ασσυριοις κατεστη σεβισθαι την ουρανιαν. Pauſanias, Attic. c. 14. p. 36.

[s] Hic templum Junoni ingens Sidonia Dido
Condebat. ——— Virgil. Æn. I. 446.

[t] Anc. Univerſal Hiſt. vol. 4. p. 359, 360.

ſexes,

ſexes, they account for this circumſtance in the character of the queen of Babylon, which was that of a martial heroine and an [u] abandoned proſtitute. Hence ſhe might be conſidered both as a god of war, and the patroneſs of pleaſure.

The Aſſyrians and Babylonians had ſeveral other gods of mortal origin; particularly *Thuras* or *Thurras*, who ſucceeded Ninus. He was an eminent warrior, and was called *Mars*, after the planet of that name, (and [w] *Baal,*) to whom the firſt pillar was erected [x]. *Adrammelech* and *Anammelech* were Babylonian deities, to whom human ſacrifices were offered [y]. The names of ſome of their other idols

[u] Athenagoras, (Legat. p. 119.) calls Semiramis, λαγνος γυνη και μιαιφονος, libidinoſa et ſanguinaria. As to the former part of her character, ſee Agathias, p. 58. ed. 1594.

[w] Ωνομασαν αυτον Βααλ. Suidas, in voc. Θυρας.

[x] Ωτινι Αρει ανεστησαν πρωτην στηλην οι Ασσυριοι, και ως θεον προσεκυνουν αυτον, και εως της νυν καλεσι Περσισι τον Βαλ θεον, ο εστι μεθερμηνευομενον Αρης, πολεμων θεος. Chronicon Alexandrinum, p. 88.

[y] 2 Kings xvii. 31.

are preſerved; but it is needleſs to deſcend into more particulars, becauſe their religion muſt have been the ſame with that of the Egyptians, Phenicians, and Syrians, of which a larger account is given by ancient authors. As they deified their ſovereigns while living [z], we might from this circumſtance alone have inferred, that they worſhipped them when dead. The teſtimonies that have been produced ſerve to ſhew, that dead men and women were the more immediate objects of the public devotion at Babylon, and were indeed honoured as their greateſt gods.

SECT. IV.

I Come now to ſhew, that human ſpirits were deified by the SYRIANS.

At Hierapolis ſtood the temple of the great Syrian goddeſs, who was held in high veneration by the Egyptians, Indians, Ethiopians, Medes, Armenians,

[z] Dan. iii.

and

and Babylonians [a]. In this temple, as we learn from Lucian [b], were placed the statues of many heathen gods, such as the Greeks called by the names of their own greatest deities, Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Venus, Apollo, Lucina or Diana, Mercury, and others: but there was no statue of the sun or moon, because they deemed it absurd to make representations of gods that were so conspicuous and resplendent, though very reasonable, on the other hand, to form statues of such as were invisible [c]. From this curious passage it appears, that the gods of Syria were of two sorts: the one visible, particularly the sun and moon; the other invisible, that is, human spirits, or such deities as corresponded to the idea the Greeks had formed

[a] Lucian, de Dea Syr. p. 676.

[b] P. 675. et seq.

[c] Μονυ γαρ ηελιυ και σεληναιης ξοανα υ δεικνυυσι. —— Λεγυσι τοισι μεν αλλοισι θεοισι οσιον εμμεναι ξοανα ποιεεσθαι· υ γαρ σφεων εμφανεα παντεσι τα ειδεα· ηελιος δε και σεληναιη παμπαν εναργεες, και σφεας παντες ορευσι· κοιη ων αιτιη ξοανυργιης τοισι εν τω ηερι φαινομενοισι; Lucian, p. 676, 677.

concerning

concerning thoſe objects of worſhip that originally belonged to the human race, and were repreſented by ſtatues. It cannot reaſonably be pretended, that Jupiter, Juno, and the other Grecian deities here enumerated, were natural gods; becauſe the former are diſtinguiſhed from the latter. Apollo and Diana, for example, cannot here denote the ſun and moon; for the former had ſtatues as their repreſentatives, but not the latter. And it is very remarkable, that, even ſo late as the age of Lucian, no ſtatues were erected to the natural gods in Syria; of which circumſtance notice will be taken in the ſequel.

As to the great Syrian goddeſs herſelf, in whoſe honour the temple was erected, ſhe could not be a natural divinity; as the ſtatue placed between Jupiter and Juno was probably erected in her honour. She ſeems to have been the ſame with the Aſtarte of the Phenicians, and the celeſtial Venus, ſo often ſpoken of above, and to whom there was

an

an ancient temple erected at Aſcalon, which is called by Herodotus [d] a city of Syria. Semiramis was worſhipped in this country [e], and is thought by ſome to be the Syrian goddeſs herſelf, and the ſame with the Derceto of Aſcalon [f].

Hiſtory informs us, that Belus was worſhipped in Syria [g], as well as at Babylon. *Adad* or *Hadad* was a name common to all the Syrian kings [h]. One of them, whom Sanchoniathon calls *Adod*, reigned in Phenicia, and was ſtiled, *king of the gods* [i]; which is a full proof,

[d] Lib. 1. c. 105.

[e] She made a law, that the Syrians ſhould worſhip her as a goddeſs, in preference to all the other divinities. Lucian, de Syr. Dea, p. 678.

[f] Anc. Univerſal Hiſt. vol. 4. p. 255, 259. — We learn from Lucian, p. 676. that the ſtatue between Jupiter and Juno, with a golden dove on it's head, was thought by ſome to be Semiramis.

[g] Ο Ζευς, ο Βηλος ονομαζομενος, και εν τη Απαμεια της Συριας τιμωμενος. Xiphilin. in Caracalla, in Excerpt. e Dione, l. 78. p. 884. ed. Hanov.

[h] Probably becauſe they conſecrated all their kings into gods.

[i] Αδωδος, βασιλευς θεων. Sanchoniathon, ap. Euſeb. P. Ev. l. 1. p. 38.

that,

that, though the term *Adad* is explained phyſically by Macrobius[k], and applied to the ſun, the chief natural god, yet it was underſtood hiſtorically by the people, and applied to their chief hero-god.

Both *Benhadad* and *Hazael* were worſhipped by the Syrians, and repreſented to be of far greater antiquity than they really were[l]: a very common practice with the Heathens on other occaſions.

The Syrians, in honour of a king called *Damaſcus*, (from whom the city of Damaſcus derived it's name,) held ſacred the ſepulchre of his wife *Arathes* as a temple, and regarded her as a goddeſs entitled to the moſt ſacred worſhip[m].

What, therefore, has been before proved concerning the Aſſyrians, Babylonians, Phenicians, and Egyptians, is alſo true of the Syrians; viz. that they

[k] Saturnal. l. 1. c. 23. p. 217.

[l] Joſeph. Antiq. l. 9. c. 4. §. 6.

[m] Nomen urbi a Damaſco rege inditum; in cujus honorem Syrii ſepulchrum Arathis uxoris ejus pro templo coluere; deamque exinde ſanctiſſimæ religionis habent. Juſtin. l. 36. c. 2.

deified

deified dead men and women. The facts produced above farther prove, that theſe gods of mortal origin were the more immediate and the principal objects of the public and national worſhip.

I have now finiſhed what I intended to offer concerning the objects of public worſhip in the *eaſtern nations*; and have ſhewn, that theſe nations, whether barbarous or poliſhed, (eſpecially thoſe of the moſt diſtinguiſhed fame, ſuch as Arabia, Phenicia, Syria, Caria, Lycia, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Pontus, Sarmatia, Armenia, Chaldea, Babylonia, Aſſyria, Perſia, Parthia, Media, India, Scythia, China, Japan, and others,) though they might acknowledge elementary and ſidereal deities, did nevertheleſs worſhip alſo human ſpirits. But ſo entirely unacquainted was a late writer with the proofs of this point here produced, (to which others might be added,) that he[a] confidently affirms, "divine honours

[a] Fell, p. 7.

"were

" were not paid to deceaſed heroes in " the *eaſtern nations.*" Left his readers ſhould think there were any exceptions, he aſſerts [o], that " the *eaſtern nations*, " whether barbarous or poliſhed, paid " no religious honours to deceaſed men." The gentleman has ſhewn himſelf equally unacquainted with the religious ſtate of the ancient nations of Europe and Africa: for, notwithſtanding what has been proved to the contrary, he affirms, that " the cuſtom of the Greeks, " in paying religious honours to de- " parted heroes, was deſpiſed by ALL " the great nations amongſt the Hea- " thens, the Romans excepted [p]." It is unbecoming in any one to ſpeak upon a ſubject, of which he is ignorant, in the deciſive language of certain knowledge. In matters of fact this is more culpable than in ſpeculative points; for, in the former caſe, we do not rely on the judgement, but on the veracity, of the ſpeaker, preſuming he would not affirm with

[o] Fell, p. 14. [p] P. 29.

confidence

confidence what he did not know to be true.

SECT. V.

Shewing that human Spirits were deified by the GREEKS.

IT was elſewhere [q] proved, that the natural gods, the ſun and moon in particular, were adored by the *Greeks*, as well as by the *Barbarians*. But the preſent queſtion concerns only their other objects of worſhip.

All, who have any knowledge of the religion of the Greeks, know, that they worſhipped the firſt founders of ſtates and cities [r]; thoſe alſo who died in defence of their country [s]; and ſuch as were

[q] Differt. on Mir, p. 172. note [f].

[r] The Cherſoneſians ſacrifice to Miltiades, ὡς ὁ νομος οἰκιστῃ. Herodot. l. 6. c. 38.

[s] Pericles, ſpeaking of thoſe who fell in the battle at Samos, ſays, *they were become immortal as the gods,* ἀθανατοι ὁλεγε γιγονεναι, καθαπερ τους θεους. He adds, *We do not ſee the gods themſelves*; (which cannot be underſtood of

aſſign thoſe reaſons which incline me to believe they were.

I. The Greeks derived their religion from Phenicia and Egypt; more eſpecially from the latter. Egypt, according to Lucian [z], was the country that firſt acquired the knowledge of the gods. His teſtimony is confirmed by other writers [a]. Herodotus repreſents the Egyptians as *the firſt who gave names to the twelve gods, and erected altars, images, and temples* [b].

From Egypt and Phenicia religion was eaſily propagated over the weſtern world, partly by that intercourſe between them which commerce created, but principally by colonies. Many of the firſt princes of Greece were born ei-

[z] Above, p. 146. note [k].

[a] Ammianus Marcellinus, l. 22. c. 16. p. 268. ſays: Hic (ſcil. in Ægypto) primùm homines longe ante alios ad varia religionum incunabula (ut dicitur) pervenerunt. — Concerning the high antiquity of the heathen gods, ſuch as built their cities, ſee Diodorus Siculus, p. 16. ed. Weſſ.

[b] Herodot. l. 2. c. 4.

ther

ther in Phenicia or Egypt, ſuch as Cadmus, Cecrops, Danaus, Erectheus, and others; and brought with them the religion of their own country, and planted it in the reſpective places in which they ſettled. The Athenians are thought to have been a colony from the Egyptian Sais; and repreſented Minerva by the ſame armed image as was done in that city. Erectheus, when made king of Athens, introduced there the Eleuſinian myſteries, framed after the cuſtom of Egypt. So great was the fame of this country for learning and religion, that many eminent perſons reſorted to it for inſtruction. Orpheus, Muſæus, Melampus, and others, who went there with this view, brought away moſt of it's myſteries and ſacred ceremonies; ſo that there was no difference between the myſteries of Bacchus and Oſiris, or of Ceres and Iſis, but the names of thoſe deities in whoſe honour they were inſtitu-

ted [c]. Indeed the very names of the twelve gods [d], and of almoſt all the Grecian gods [e], were originally derived from Egypt, according to Herodotus. To the ſame country, according to this hiſtorian, the Greeks were endebted for their oracles, ſacred feſtivals, and many religious rites [f].

Had we been only informed, in general terms, that Greece derived it's religion from Egypt, we muſt have inferred, that the principal objects of worſhip in the former country were of the ſame kind with thoſe in the latter; and conſequently were of human extract. But, when we are farther told, that the *number* of the great gods in both countries was twelve, and that the *names* of

[c] Concerning the ſeveral foregoing particulars, ſee Diodorus Siculus, l. 1. p. 32, 33, 34, 107, 109, 110. ed. Weſſ. Platon. Crit. p. 110. Plutarch. Iſ. et Oſir. p. 354.

[d] Δυωδεκα τε θεων ὀνομασιας ἐλεγον πρωτους Αἰγυπτιους νομισαι, και Ἑλληνας παρα σφεων μαθειν. Herodot. l. 2. c. 4.

[e] Id. c. 50. [f] Cap. 51, 54-58.

the

the gods of Greece were borrowed from thoſe of Egypt, we gain new proofs that the gods of both countries were either the very ſame [s] or ſimilar; that is, deified men. If the repreſentation, made of the gods by *images* in human form, pointed out their relation to mankind in Egypt, the like repreſentation of them in Greece, in imitation of Egypt, muſt anſwer the ſame end. If *oracles* in one country were aſcribed to human ſpirits, they muſt be aſcribed to ſuch ſpirits in the other. The *rites of worſhip* amongſt the Heathens always bore a relation to the peculiar character of the gods in whoſe honour they were inſtituted; and therefore the ſame rites could not be performed in Egypt to dead men and women, and in Greece to the natural gods. And if the *myſteries* in one country diſcloſed the earthly origin of the gods,

[s] Herodotus ſays, Ισις δε εστι, κατα την Ελληνων γλωσσαν, Δημητηρ. Lib. 2. c. 59. — As Iſis was called, in the Greek language, *Demeter*, ſo Orus was called Apollo; Bubaſtis, Diana, c. 156. and Oſiris, Bacchus, c. 144.

they muſt do ſo in the other. (And we know this to be the caſe with regard to both.)

What is thus eſtabliſhed by the plaineſt reaſoning is confirmed by the cleareſt teſtimony. Euſebius, ſpeaking of that moſt corrupt ſpecies of idolatry, which ſucceeded the worſhip of the natural gods, (by which he means that of dead men,) repreſents it as ſpringing up firſt in Phenicia, and ſoon afterwards in Egypt; and immediately adds, that the myſteries of both countries were communicated to the Greeks by Cadmus and Orpheus [h]. And Sanchoniathon [i] ſays, that the cuſtom of deifying kings and the benefactors of mankind, and of worſhipping them as *the greateſt gods*, which obtained amongſt the Phenicians and Egyptians in the moſt early ages of the

[h] Φοινικων, εἰτα Αιγυπτιων, απαρξαμενων της πλανης, παρ' ων φασι πρωτον Ορφεα τον Θαγρω, μεταλησαμενον τα παρ' Αιγυπτιοις, Ελλησι μεταδουναι μυστηρια, ωσπερ αν και Καδμον τα Φοινικικα τοις αυτοις αγαγειν. Euſeb. P. Ev. p. 17, 18. — Concerning Cadmus, ſee Nonni Dionyſiaca, p. 79, 80.

[i] Cited above, p. 135.

world,

world, was from them derived to other nations. Now, amongſt theſe nations, Greece, as we have ſeen, was certainly included. Conſequently, the twelve gods of Greece, like the twelve gods of Egypt and the Cabirs of Phenicia, were of mortal origin.

II. The ſame point may be farther proved by the teſtimony of Herodotus, who was certainly well acquainted with the Grecian objects of worſhip. This hiſtorian [k] tells us, that the reaſon why the Perſians did not erect temples, altars, and images, to the gods, (which the Greeks were known to do,) was, *in his opinion, their not believing, as the Greeks did, that the gods are of the race of men.* This teſtimony, which was urged elſewhere [l], is excepted againſt by Dr. Blackwell [m], and after him by another writer [n]; but without any juſt ground.

[k] L. i. c. 131. cited above, p. 47.

[l] Diſſert. on Mir. p. 186, 187.

[m] Mythol. p. 217. [n] Fell, p. 7, 27.

The Greek word [o] in diſpute ſtrictly imports, either *to be ſprung from men*, or *to have human nature*. The concluſion meant to be drawn from it is not affected by the latter interpretation: for, to ſay, the gods had *human natures*, is equivalent to ſaying, they had been *men*. But I preferred the former interpretation, for two reaſons; one was, it's having the ſanction of the beſt editors [p] of Herodotus, and of all other writers, except thoſe who had an end to ſerve by rejecting it: the other reaſon was, that this interpretation ſuits well with the known opinion of the Greeks concerning the gods: for they did believe in gods *ſprung from men*; but they did not admit, that the

[o] Ανθρωποφυης, humanam naturam habens; item, ortum humanum habens. Scapula. — Dr. Blackwell was juſtly cenſured by the author of the Divine Legation, vol. 1. p. 97. in the note, 4th ed. for explaining this word by ανθρωπομορφος, as if it imported being made *like* a man. But the former word is of a very different import from the latter.

[p] Gale and Weſſeling render the word, *ex hominibus ortos*.

ſouls

ſouls of theſe men, in their deified ſtate, did ſtill partake of *human nature*. On the contrary, they taught that this *mutable, paſſible, mortal*, nature was changed into a nature, *immutable, impaſſible*, and *immortal*[g]. But I lay very little ſtreſs upon this argument, becauſe the word in queſtion might be deſigned to expreſs the nature which the gods had *originally*. The general meaning of Herodotus is too plain to be eaſily miſtaken. The ſtatues of the gods in human form were a proof of their having been men[f]. Herodotus therefore very naturally accounts for the Perſians differing ſo far from the Greeks, as to have no ſacred ſtatues, by ſaying, they had very different notions of the gods: for the Perſians did not believe, as the Greeks did, that the gods once *had human natures*, or *were ſprung from men*.

The Greeks indeed acknowledged the ſame natural gods as the Perſians did;

[g] Differt. on Mir. p. 214. note [f].

[f] See Div. Legat. vol. 1. p. 97, 98. in the note.

but

but there was this difference between them: in Perſia they worſhipped the natural gods themſelves, directly and immediately; whereas, in Greece, the more immediate objects of the public worſhip were deified human ſpirits, to whom the adminiſtration of the government of this lower world was thought to be committed. And, as theſe preſidents over nature did, as it were, intercept and engroſs the public devotion, Herodotus might juſtly ſay, in general terms, that the Greeks believed their gods were of human origin. It muſt be obſerved farther, though there was occaſion to make the ſame obſervation before[1], that Herodotus is not here ſpeaking of heroes or any of the inferior orders of deities, but of the principal objects of Grecian worſhip, or of thoſe to whom the title of gods eminently belonged, who had temples, chapels, images and altars, erected in their honour*. He muſt therefore include in

[1] Above, p. 61, 62.

* See Porphyry, de Antro Nymph. p. 254.

this

this number the twelve great gods of Greece; and conſequently he affirms, that they were dead men and women deified.

III. That the gods of the greater nations were deified mortals, is a point fully eſtabliſhed by the *Sacred Hiſtory of Euhemerus of Meſſina*. Notice was taken of this argument elſewhere[t]; but I ſhall here enter into it more fully.

Euhemerus relates, that, in one of the many voyages he undertook by order of Caſſander, king of Macedonia, he came to an iſland called Panchaia, and there found, in the temple of the Triphilian Jupiter, an authentic regiſter of the births and deaths of the gods. Amongſt theſe gods he particularly ſpecifies *Uranus*; his ſons by *Veſta*, viz. *Pan* (or rather *Titan*[u]) and *Saturn*, and his daughters,

[t] Diſſert. on Mir. p. 194.

[u] Lactantius (Inſtitut. Div. l. 1. c. 14.) has the following extract from Euhemerus himſelf, according to Ennius's tranſlation of him: *Exin Saturnus uxorem ducit Opim. Titan, qui major natu erat, poſtulat, ut ipſe regnaret.*

daughters, *Rhea* and *Ceres*; the children of *Saturn* [w] and *Rhea*, viz. *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Neptune*; and the offspring of *Jupiter* by *Juno*, *Ceres*, and *Themis*, viz. the *Curetes*, *Proſerpine*, and *Minerva*. The foregoing particulars, and ſeveral others concerning Euhemerus, are mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, in a fragment preſerved by Euſebius [x]. And the deſign of the *Sacred Hiſtory* was to ſhew, that the gods were to be regarded as mortal men [y].

This hiſtory received the ſanction of the moſt reſpectable writers of antiquity. It was tranſlated into Latin and appro-

naret. Ibi Veſta, mater eorum, et ſorores, Ceres atque Opis, ſuadent Saturno, ut de regno non concedat fratri. — There being here no mention of *Pan*, it ſeems probable that the reading in Diodorus ſhould be *Titan*. See Weſſeling's Diodorus, tom. 2. p. 634.

[w] Saturn ſucceeded Uranus, and Jupiter ſucceeded Saturn.

[x] Diodor. Sic. Fragm. p. 633, 634. ed. Weſſ. — Euſeb. P. Ev. l. 2. c. 2. p. 59. — Compare Cicero de Nat. Deor. l. 1. c. 42.

[y] Ταυτα και τα τουτοις παραπλησια, ως περι θνητων ανθρωπων, περι των θεων διελθων. Diodorus, tom. 2. p. 634.

ved

ved by Ennius [z]. Cicero alſo, whoſe authority is of the greateſt weight, adopted the ſyſtem of the Meſſinian concerning the heathen gods; as will be ſhewn in the next ſection. I ſhall only obſerve here, that, though he was fully ſenſible of the abſurdity of worſhipping dead men [a], and of the evil tendency of repreſenting the gods as ſuch [b], he does not controvert the truth of that repreſentation. Diodorus Siculus [c] cites Euhemerus without cenſure; and, by the extracts he makes from his hiſtory, plainly diſcovers his opinion of it's fide-

[z] Euhemerus, quem noſter et interpretatus et ſecutus eſt, præter cæteros, Ennius. Cicer. N. Deor. l. 1. c. 42.

[a] He puts the following words into the mouth of Velleius, the Epicurean: Quo quid abſurdius quàm — homines jam morte deletos reponere in deos, quorum omnis cultus eſſet futurus in luctu? N. Deor. l. 1. c. 15.

[b] He ſays, in the perſon of Cotta, an Academic philoſopher: Utrum igitur hic (Euhemerus) confirmaſſe videtur religionem, an penitus totam ſuſtuliſſe? Id. ib. c. 42.

[c] Vide l. 5. p. 364. et ſeq. Fragment. ubi ſupra.

lity.

lity. Euſebius [d] certainly entertained the ſame opinion of it as Diodorus, and appeals to it as a ſufficient authority for what he advances with reſpect to the mean origin of the heathen gods. St. Auſtin [e] affirms, that Euhemerus eſtabliſhed his notion of them as mere mortals by careful reſearches into ancient hiſtory. Lactantius [f], on different occaſions,

[d] Præp. Ev. l. 2. c. 2. p. 59. et ſeq.

[e] Euhemerus, omnes tales deos, non fabuloſa garrulitate, ſed hiſtorica diligentia, homines fuiſſe mortalesque, conſcripſit. Civ. Dei, l. 6. c. 7. See alſo l. 7. c. 26.

[f] Antiquus autor, Euhemerus, qui fuit ex civitate Meſſene, res geſtas Jovis, et cæterorum qui dii putantur, collegit, hiſtoriamque contexuit ex titulis et inſcriptionibus ſacris quæ in antiquiſſimis templis habebantur, maximeque in fano Jovis Triphylii. Lactant. Div. Inſtitut. l. 1. c. 11. p. 49, 50. tom. 1. ed. Dufreſnoy. — Aperiamus quæ in *veris* literis continentur. Hæc Ennii verba ſunt, &c. Hæc hiſtoria quàm vera ſit, docet Sibylla Erythræa, eadem fere dicens. Id. ib. c. 14. — Ad hiſtoriam veniamus, quæ ſimul et rerum fide, et temporum nititur vetuſtate. Euhemerus fuit Meſſenius, antiquiſſimus ſcriptor, qui de ſacris inſcriptionibus veterum templorum et originem Jovis, et res geſtas, omnemque progeniem, collegit; item cætero-

rum

caſions, aſſerts the *truth* of his memoirs, and ſays they were extracted from the monuments and ſacred inſcriptions of the oldeſt temples, and eſpecially from thoſe in the temple of the Triphylian Jupiter. And he affirms, that the moſt ancient writers of Greece, thoſe whom they called *theologers*, and the Romans, who copied from the Greeks, entertained the ſame opinion of the gods as Euhemerus [f]. According to Minucius Felix [h], "he pointed out the places where "the gods were born, their countries, "and their ſepulchres, in the different "provinces of the earth:" which ſurely muſt afford every one an opportunity

rum deorum parentes, patrias, actus, imperia, obitus, ſepulcra etiam, perſecutus eſt. Id. Epitome Div. Inſtitut. c. 13. tom. 2.

[f] Omnes, qui coluntur ut dii, homines fuerunt. —— Quod cùm vetuſtiſſimi Græciæ ſcriptores, quos illi θεολόγους nuncupant, tùm etiam Romani, Græcos ſecuti et imitati, docent; quorum præcipuè Euhemerus, ac noſter Ennius. Id. de Ira Dei, c. xi. p. 152.

[h] Euhemerus — eorum natales, patrias, ſepulchra, dinumerat, et per provincias monſtrat. Min. Fel. Octavius, c. xxi.

of

of detecting his impoſture, had he been chargeable with any. And Arnobius [1] tells the Heathens, he could prove, that all thoſe whom they called gods had been men, from the writings either of Euhemerus, or Nicagoras, or Pellæus, or Theodorus, or Hippo and Diagoras, or by a thouſand other authors, who had made the moſt critical and diligent inquiry into this ſubject, and, with an ingenuous freedom of mind, had brought to light things that were concealed from public view.

But Euhemerus, it is ſaid, was branded as an atheiſt; and this circumſtance has been urged to diſcredit the truth of his doctrine concerning the humanity of the gods. In anſwer to this objection, it may be obſerved,

[1] Poſſumus quidem hoc in loco omnes iſtos, nobis quos inducitis atque appellatis deos, homines fuiſſe monſtrare, vel Agragantino Euhemero replicato, —— vel Nicagoro Cyprio, vel Pellæo Leonte, vel Cyrenenſi Theodoro, vel Hippone ac Diagora Meliis, vel auctoribus aliis mille, qui ſcrupuloſæ diligentiæ curâ in lucem res abditas libertate ingenua protulerunt.

1. No man was deemed an atheiſt, by the Heathens, if he worſhipped any gods who intereſted themſelves in the affairs of mankind, though they were only ſuch as had been men. Such gods alone as theſe were worſhipped by the Getes and Augilites, who nevertheleſs were not cenſured as atheiſts [k]. The Panchaians diſcovered an extraordinary devotion to thoſe divinities, whoſe births and deaths were regiſtered in their moſt magnificent temple [l]. So far was the deification of men from implying atheiſm, that it rather preſuppoſed the exiſtence of the natural gods, with whom the deified men were aſſociated, and from whom they derived their power and authority [m]. The prieſts, who cer-

[k] Above, p. 32, 97.

[l] Euhemerus repreſents them as *ευσεβεια διαφεροντας, και τους θεους τιμωντας μεγαλοπρεπεσταις θυσιαις, κ. τ. λ.* As to the celeſtial gods, he ſays, Uranus was the firſt who honoured them with ſacrifices; from which circumſtance he derived his name. Diod. Sic. Fragm. p. 633, 634.

[m] Diſſert. on Mir. p. 175. note [l].

tainly did not intend to promote atheiſm, did themſelves reveal the human origin of the great gods to thoſe initiated into the myſteries. And thoſe philoſophers, who were concerned to ſupport the public religion, maintained that (even according to the rules of right reaſon, as will be ſhewn hereafter) virtuous men were advanced firſt to the rank of heroes, next to that of demons, and afterwards to that of gods, having attained to a ſtate of the higheſt perfection and bleſſedneſs [n]. Euhemerus therefore was not ranked amongſt the atheiſts merely for aſſerting, that thoſe worſhipped by the people as gods had once been men.

2. What the Heathens lay to the charge of Euhemerus is, his believing, *that there were no gods, or none who take*

[n] Ουδεν ην δει τα σωματα των αγαθων συναναπιμπλειν παρα φυσιν εις ηρανον, αλλα τας αρετας και τας ψυχας παντα πασιν οιεσθαι, κατα φυσιν και δικην θειαν, εκ μεν ανθρωπων, εις ηρωας, εκ δ' ηρωων, εις δαιμονας, εκ δε δαιμονων ——— εις Θεους αναφερεσθαι, το καλλιστον και μακαριωτατον τελος απολαβουσας. Plutarchi Romulus, p. 36. A.

care

care of mankind[o]. He was accuſed of real atheiſm; but Theophilus Antiochenus[p] ſeems to intimate that he did not publickly avow this principle at firſt. And it might be charged upon him only as the apprehended conſequence of his rejecting the received notion of the popular gods; juſt as Socrates, for a ſimilar reaſon,

[o] *Who,* ſays Ælian, *can forbear extolling the wiſdom of the Barbarians? for none of them ever fell into atheiſm, or doubted whether there are any gods, or any who take care of mankind. They never entertained the like ſentiment as Euhemerus —— but univerſally aſſerted, that there are gods, and that they take care of us.* Τις ουκ αν επηνεσε την των βαρβαρων σοφιαν; ειγε μηδεις αυτων εις αθεοτητα εξεπεσε, μηδε αμφιβαλλοι περι θεων, αρα γε εισιν, η ουκ εισι· και αρα γε ημων φροντιζουσιν, η ου. Ουδεις γαν εννοιαν ελαβε τοιαυτην, οιαν ο Ευημερος —— λεγουσι δε των βαρβαρων προειρημενοι, και ειναι θεους, και προνοειν ημων. Var. Hiſt. l. 2. c. 31. — See alſo Plutarch. de Placit. Philoſoph. l. 1. c. 7. p. 880.

[p] "After having had the courage to ſpeak many "things concerning the gods," (that is, I apprehend, to repreſent them as having been men,) "he at laſt went "ſo far as to affirm, that there were no gods at all, nor "any ſuperintending providence, but that the world "was governed by chance." Πολλα γαρ περι θεων τολμησας φθεγξασθαι, τελευταιον και το εξολου μη ειναι θεους, αλλα τα παντα αυτοματισμω διοικεισθαι βουλεται. Theoph. Ant. ad Autolycum, l. 3. p. 293, 294. ed. Wolfii.

was deemed an atheiſt, though he was far from deſerving ſuch a reproach. Whatever Euhemerus's real character was, it is certain that one reaſon of his being thought an atheiſt was his ſpeaking of the gods as men who periſhed at death, and conſequently were not really deified. We are expreſſly told by Sextus Empiricus [q], that he repreſented their pretended deification as the mere effect of the pride and policy of princes and great men, in order to procure a higher veneration for their perſons, and a more ready ſubmiſſion to their authority. Now, if all thoſe who were worſhipped as gods had been men, as Euhemerus aſſerts, and theſe men were falſely ſuppoſed to become gods, the Heathens would regard him as one who

[q] Ευημερος δε, ο επικληθεις αθεος, φησιν, ότ' ην ατακτος ανθρωπων βιος, οι περιγινομενοι των αλλων ισχυι τε και συνεσει, ωστε προς τα υπ' αυτων κελευομενα παντας βιον, σπουδαζοντες μειζονος θαυμασμου και σεμνοτητος τυχειν, απεφηναν περι αυτους υπερβαλλουσαν τινα και θειαν δυναμιν, ενθεν και τοις πολλοις νομισθηναι θεοι. Sextus Empiricus, adv. Phyſicos, l. 9. c. 2. §. 17. p. 552. ed. Fabricii. Vid. §. 51.

believed

believed there were no gods at all. Plutarch, in a paſſage that will be quickly cited, grounds the charge of atheiſm againſt him, not upon his aſſerting that the gods had been men, but upon his maintaining that they were nothing more than men long ſince dead. Nay, Plutarch, as we ſhall ſee *, diſtinguiſhes the former of theſe propoſitions from atheiſm. The account here given of the Meſſinian is confirmed by Clemens Alexandrinus [r], who ſays, "that Euhemerus, Nicanor, Diagoras, Hippo, Theodorus, and others, were called atheiſts, becauſe they had the ſagacity to diſcern the error of other men concerning the gods;" that is, they clearly ſaw they were not real divinities.

Now, if Euhemerus would not have been accuſed of atheiſm by the Hea-

* Below, p. 234.

[r] Ευημερον —— και τινας αλλας συχνους, —— καθιερακοτας οξυτερον τι των λοιπων ανθρωπων την αμφι τους θεους τουτους πλανην, αθεους επικεκληκασιν. Clem. Alexandr. Cohort. ad Gentes, tom. 1. p. 20, 21. ed. Potteri.

thens, had he merely aſſerted, that the received gods had been mortal men, provided he had allowed their advancement, after death, to a deified ſtate: the objection we have been examining does not reach the point. And, if one ground, at leaſt, of the charge of atheiſm againſt him was his denying the real deification of men, this is a demonſtration that the Heathens acknowledged this principle; and conſequently the objection under conſideration eſtabliſhes the point it was meant to overturn.

The only plauſible objection againſt the hiſtory of Euhemerus is that urged by Plutarch; viz. that no one beſides this hiſtorian had ever ſeen the iſland of Panchaia [*]. Plutarch, as a prieſt of the gods, could not but be diſpleaſed with the Meſſinian for minutely inquiring into their character and actions, and for publiſhing to the whole

[*] Iſ. et Oſir. p. 360. A. B.

world.

world their earthly origin [t]. He was ſtill more highly offended at his repreſenting them as men who were deſtroyed by death. He himſelf was an advocate for the real deification of virtuous ſouls [u], for the phyſical explication of the abſurd ſtories concerning the gods [w], and for the exiſtence of an order of celeſtial demons [x]; and, on theſe principles, he undertook the defence of the pagan religion, at a time when it was warmly attacked, not only by the ſceptical philoſophers, but by the Chriſtians in every

[t] It was a ſacred maxim, with the Heathens, "that "it was more their duty to *believe* the deeds of the "gods, than to *know* them;" which they obſerved even with regard to thoſe gods who had been men. See above, p. 159. note [a]. Hercules is the god there ſpoken of. To reveal the ſecret of the myſteries was an act of the higheſt impiety. Hence Plutarch complains, that aſſerting the humanity of the gods was *moving things which ought not to be moved.* Iſ. et Oſir. p. 359. F. In order to ſupport their falſe religion, the pagan prieſts found it neceſſary to check curioſity, and prevent free inquiry, on the ſubject.

[u] Above, p. 226. note [n]. [w] Iſ. et Oſir. paſſim.

[x] Ib. p. 360.

part of the world, on account of it's conſiſting in the worſhip of dead men. That it did conſiſt very much in ſuch worſhip, they proved by many arguments, and particularly by the teſtimony of Euhemerus. Can we wonder then that Plutarch laboured to diſparage it, when we conſider that it overturned his favourite ſpeculations, and left his religion without the ſhadow of a ſupport? But let us examine the weight of his objection. Even if there was no ſuch iſland as Panchaia, the doctrine of Euhemerus might be true, becauſe it was ſupported by other records beſides thoſe of the temple of the Triphylian Jupiter, which might be appealed to only to avoid the odium and danger of divulging the ſecret of the myſteries. There is however no ſufficient reaſon to affirm, that the iſland of Panchaia had no exiſtence. It is mentioned by Pomponius Mela [y], deſcribed by Diodorus Sicu-

[y] L. 3. c. 8. l. 69. with the notes of F. Voſſius, p. 852.

lus,

lus [z], and it's exiſtence, according to Voſſius, eſtabliſhed beyond contradiction by the teſtimony of Ptolemy Euergetes [a]. The hiſtory of Euhemerus's voyage to it met with credit from many reſpectable writers, who lived much nearer to the time of it's publication than Plutarch. And if, in the remote age of this philoſopher, or even in that of Polybius [b], it was not known that any one had ever ſeen Panchaia beſides our voyager, let it be remembered, that he was more likely than any other to diſcover this iſland, as he had ſailed much farther to the ſouth of the Arabian gulph than mere traders had ever done, having been ſent out by

[z] L. 5. p. 364. et ſeq. Fragm. p. 633.

[a] Ut omnem prorſus tollam dubitationem, ſubjungam teſtimonium omni exceptione majus, Ptolemæi nempe Euergetæ, excerptum ex monumento Adulitico, in quo recenſentur gentes Ethiopicæ, quas ipſe præſens ſubjugavit. — This monument mentions the *Panchaites*. — Voſſius, ubi ſupra.

[b] See Strabo, l. 2. p. 163. and l. 7. p. 459. from whence it appears that Polybius did not credit the account given of Panchaia,

the

the king of Macedonia, on purpoſe, as it ſhould ſeem, to make new diſcoveries.

What has Plutarch done to refute the doctrine of Euhemerus? To my apprehenſion, what he has admitted ſerves fully to eſtabliſh it. He allows that the things related of the gods accord with the opinion of their having been men [c], and that thoſe who hold this opinion *have the ſupport of hiſtory* [d]; though at the ſame time he acknowledges it's tendency to produce atheiſm [e]; or that a belief that the objects of their worſhip had been men led to a denial of their being really gods [f]. What could Euhemerus himſelf deſire more than ſuch a conceſſion from a learned and able adverſary?

After the foregoing obſervations, Plutarch immediately introduces the men-

[c] See above, p. 166.

[d] Εχουσιν απο των ιστορουμενων βοηθειας. Plutarch. p. 359. E.

[e] It opened μεγαλας τω αθεω λεω κλισιαδας, a great window or door to atheiſtic people. If. et Oſir. p. 360. — This proves what was before aſſerted, that Plutarch diſtinguiſhes between the humanity of the gods, and the *effect* it might produce on perſons of reflection.

tion

tion of our author, and complains, " that he had ſpread all manner of athe- " iſm throughout the world, and ſtruck " at the exiſtence of all the received gods " without diſtinction, whom he deſcri- " bed merely as ancient generals, admi- " rals, and kings[f]." This paſſage ſerves to ſhew, that Euhemerus gained many converts to his opinion. We are aſked[g], *Did the Heathens receive his doctrine? If not, what have we to do in this caſe with the groundleſs ſuppoſitions of an individual?* Could Plutarch juſtly charge Euhemerus *with ſpreading atheiſm throughout the world*, if his doctrine had not been received throughout the world? The reception of his doctrine was the *cauſe*; atheiſm was the *effect*; and both muſt have been of equal extent. So that the doctrine of Euhemerus concerning the *origin* of the

[f] Πασαν αθεοτητα κατασκεδαννυσι της οικουμενης, τους νομιζομενους θεους παντας ομαλως διαγραφων, εις ονομα (ονοματα) στρατηγων, και ναυαρχων, και βασιλεων, ως δη παλαι γεγονοτων. Iſ. et Oſir. p. 360. A.

[g] Fell, p. 81.

gods,

gods, which a late writer treats as *the groundleſs ſuppoſition of an* INDIVIDUAL, was allowed to be generally received, as well as founded in uncontroverted facts, even by that great man who was moſt offended at it's being breached. And it has been proved, that this doctrine was maintained and defended by Greek and Roman, by Heathen and Chriſtian, writers, and ſupported by the authority of records in the moſt ancient temples.

Now, if this doctrine of Euhemerus be true, then even the great gods of Greece were men and women, who were, without any reaſon, ſuppoſed to become gods after death.

This point will be farther confirmed by other teſtimonies in the next ſection, when the Roman gods come under conſideration. And, were we to deſcend to a particular enumeration of the ſeveral Grecian deities of which we are here ſpeaking, we ſhould find diſtinct evidence of the human origin of each. But, as this would lead to a repetition of many things

things already noticed, and to an anticipation of others which will occur in the ſequel, I ſhall only conſider the caſe of the Grecian *Jupiter*, *the father of gods and men* [h].

The term *Jupiter*, which, according to Cicero, denotes only *a helping father* [i], was commonly uſed to expreſs the ſupreme pagan deity. The philoſophers deſcribed, by this term, their ſupreme natural divinity; which, according to ſome, was the world or ſoul of the world; and, according to others, either the æther or the ſun [k]. But the preſent

[h] Πατηρ ανδρων τε θεων τε. Homer.
Pater divumque hominumque. Latin poets. Cicero, Nat. Deor. l. 2. c. 25.

[i] Juvans pater. Id. ib.

[k] The proofs of this point need not be produced here. I ſhall only obſerve, that, though Mr. Fell affirms, p. 22. "that *it is univerſally known*, that *no* "*part of nature* was ever conſidered by the Heathens "as their ſupreme deity; and that the ſun, in parti-"cular, was not ſo conſidered," p. 15. yet, in expreſs contradiction to himſelf, the ſame writer maintains, p. 124. "that their (the Heathens) *chief* deities were "the

ſent [1] queſtion concerns only that Jupiter who was the chief object of the eſtabliſhed worſhip in the ancient nations, and particularly in Greece.

" the æther, ſun, moon, planets, and hoſts of hea-
" ven;" nay, he pleads that ſome nations adored no gods but the ſun or the heavens, p. 8, 9. He ſays, p. 119. (ſee alſo p. 5.) " that the *Creator* of all things
" was *acknowledged* amongſt them (the Heathens) al-
" moſt every where." Could he be acknowledged by thoſe whoſe *chief* deities were the ſun and moon? More conformable to the real fact is the declaration of ſcripture. *They ſacrificed not to God,* Deut. xxxii. 17. *When they knew* (or had plain notices of) *God, they glorified him not as God, but ſerved the creature* (παρα) *rather than the Creator*; that is, *paſſing by the Creator,* (ſee Beza in loc. and the Syriac and Æthiopic verſions, and the vulgar Latin,) or *in oppoſition to him,* (ſo παρα τον νομον, Acts xviii. 3. is *contrary to law,*) Rom. i. 21. —— But all that occurs in this writer, about the *uncreated* God, p. 6. the *created* gods, p. 15, 16, 17. the *Creator* of the univerſe, and the *creation,* p. 1, 5. ſo far as this language reſpects the Heathens, ſerves only to ſhew he was not ſenſible, that the Heathens, who lived before the coming of Chriſt, denied a proper *creation,* and aſſerted the *generation* of the gods and of the world. Now, " no *generation,*" they ſaid, " is made
" from what does not exiſt:" Ουκ εκ του μη οντος η γενεσις. Plutarch. de Animæ Procreat. p. 1014. B.

[1] See above, p. 6.

The

The Arcadians [m] diſputed with the Cretans the honour of giving birth to Jupiter; but it is ſufficient to our purpoſe to obſerve, that the conteſt itſelf proved his being regarded by both as a man. If he was not born in Crete, he was certainly educated there; and was called *Dictæan* from a mountain in that iſland called *Dicte*, the place of his education [n]. He died, at the age of an hundred and twenty [o], in the iſland of Crete [p]. Callimachus, indeed, will not

[m] Callimach. Hymn. in Jov. v. 6, 7. Cicero, Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 21. ſays, the theologers reckoned three Jupiters; two born in Arcadia; the third in Crete, who was the ſon of Saturn. See Lactantius, l. 1. c. 11. and Arnobius, l. 4. p. 135. who affirm the ſame concerning the Cretan Jupiter.

[n] Virgil. Georg. IV. 152. Servius on Æn. III. 171.

[o] Suidas (voc. Πηκος) ſays, Πηκος, ο και Ζευς, τελευτα, ζησας κ' και εκατον ετη. Compare Chron. Alexand. p. 87, 89. Ennius (ap. Lactant. l. 1. c. 11. p. 52.) ſays of Jupiter, Ætate peſſum actâ, in Creta vitam commutavit, et ad deos abiit.

[p] See Lactantius, in the preceding note.

allow

allow that he died [q]; yet, by repreſenting him as the offſpring of Rhea, by pointing out the place of his nativity [r], and making his ſtrength and exploits the ground of his becoming *king of the gods* [s], he plainly holds him forth under a human character. His tomb was openly ſhewn in Crete [t]; and Diodorus Siculus

[q] Callimach. Hymn. in Jov. v. 9. See ſome juſt ſtrictures on Callimachus, on account of his denying the death of Jupiter, in Athenagoras, Legat. pro Chriſtian. p. 121, 122. ed. Oxon.

[r] Εν δε σι Παῤῥασιη Ρεια τεκε. In Parrhaſia vero te Rhea peperit. v. 10. See v. 15, 16, 17.

[s] Ου σε θεων εσσηνα παλοι θεσαν, ἐργα δε χειρων,
Σθη τε βιη, το τε καρτος, κ. τ. λ. v. 66, 67.
Non te regem deorum fecerunt ſortes, ſed opera manuum, tuaque vis et robur. —— Theſe were the uſual grounds of deifying men.

[t] Lucian. de ſacrificiis, tom. 1. p. 367. ed. Amſtel. 1687. Cicero, ſpeaking of the Jupiter born in Crete, ſays, Cujus in illa inſula ſepulchrum oſtenditur. Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 21. Pythagoras wrote upon the tomb of the Cretan Jupiter the following epigram:

Ωδε θανων κειται Ζαν, ον Δια κικλησκουσιν.

Zan, whom men call Jupiter, lies here deceaſed. Porphyr. Vit. Pythagor. p. 187. ed. Cantab. 1655. According to Euhemerus, the inſcription upon Jupiter's tomb

Siculus * relates, that the remains of it were to be ſeen in his time. He was highly celebrated for his wiſdom and valour, and reigned over a large part of the earth. Having reſtrained violence, eſtabliſhed laws, promoted the welfare of ſociety, and rendered himſelf an eminent benefactor to his ſubjects and to mankind, he was judged worthy of an eternal kingdom, and a ſeat in Olympus, by the whole human race [a].

R The

tomb was, Ζαν Κρονω, Jupiter Saturni. Lactant. Epitome, tom. 2. c. 13. p. 10. ed. Dufreſnoy. Suidas ſays, that, when he was dying, he ordered his body to be buried in the iſland of Crete; and that the inſcription upon his tomb was, Ενθαδε κειται θανων Πηκος ο Ζευς. He adds, that very many writers made mention of his tomb. Suidas, voc. Πηκος. — Apud inſulam Cretam ſepulturæ traditus, ſays Arnobius, p. 135.

* L. 3. p. 230. ed. Weſſ.

[a] Euhemerus Jovem tradit, cùm quinquies orbem circumiviſſet, et amicis ſuis atque cognatis diſtribuiſſet imperia, legeſque hominibus, multaque alia bona feciſſet, immortali gloria memoriaque affectum ſempiterna, in Creta vitam commutaſſe, atque ad deos abiiſſe. Lactant. Epitome, c. 13. tom. 2. p. 10. — Diodorus Siculus, l. 5. p. 387, 388. after enumerating the bleſſings of

Siculus * relates, that the remains of it were to be seen in his time. He was ighly celebrated for his wisdom and alour, and reigned over a large part of e earth. Having restrained violence, ablished laws, promoted the welfare society, and rendered himself an emi- t benefactor to his subjects and to kind, he was judged worthy of ternal kingdom, and a seat in ous, by the whole human race [a].

R The

Ζαν Κρονω, Jupiter Saturni. Lactant. Epi- 2. c. 13. p. 10. ed. Dufresnoy. Suidas when he was dying, he ordered his body to the island of Crete; and that the inscrip- as, Ενθαδε κειται θανων Πηκος ο Ζευς. many writers made mention of his c. Πηκος. — Apud insulam Cretam us, says Arnobius, p. 135. 30. ed. Wess.

Jovem tradit, cùm quinquies orbem cis suis atque cognatis distribuisset lia bona fecis- sempiterna, abiisse. Lac- iodorus Sicu- g the blessings

The Cretans, in particular, who gloried in having his tomb amongſt them, honoured him with more excellent rites and ſacrifices than their other deities, regarded him as the ruler of all things in heaven; of ſhowers, thunder and lightening, and of the temperature of the air, on which the fruits of the earth depend; and called him *Zen*, becauſe to him they owe their lives or the means of ſubſiſtence [w]. The repreſentation made

of his reign, ſays: Δια δε το μεγεθος των ευεργεσιων, και την υπεροχην της δυναμεως, συμφωνως αυτω παρα παντων συγκεχωρησθαι την τε βασιλειαν εις τον αει χρονον, και την οικησιν την εν Ολυμπω.

[w] Καταδειχθηναι δε και θυσιας αυτω συντελειν υπερ των αλλων απαντας, κ. τ. λ. Sacra etiam præ cæteris exquiſita ipſi peragi inſtitutum; et, poſt migrationem e terris in cœlum, juſta mentibus hominum, in quos beneficia contulerat, perſuaſio infixa eſt, quod omnium quæ in cœlo fiunt, imbrium, inquam, et tonitruum, fulminumque, et id genus aliorum, arbiter ſit et moderator. Ideoque *Zena* ipſum vocant, propterea quod vivendi, quod *Zen* Græcis eſt, auctor eſſe, dum commoda aeris temperie fructus ad maturitatem perducit, exiſtimatur. Diod. Sic. p. 388. — Compare the account which Diodorus gives of the Jupiter of the Atlantians. He was called

made of the Grecian Jupiter by Homer, notwithſtanding his magnificent deſcriptions of him, is perfectly conformable to the account here given of his low origin. If, according to Homer, Jupiter reigned over the gods, and ſhook all heaven with his nod, yet, according to the ſame poet, he wanted the aſſiſtance of Briareus to ſave him from the violence of Neptune, Juno, and Minerva [x]. The paſſions and vices aſcribed to him ſhew that he partook of the nature of man. In Plato's Euthyphro, where he is ſtiled,

called *Zen*, διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν τῷ καλῶς ζῆν αἴτιον γενέσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καθιδρυνθῆναι δ' ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τῇ τῶν εὖ παθόντων τιμῇ, πάντων προθύμως ἀναγορευόντων θεὸν καὶ κύριον εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τῷ σύμπαντος κόσμῳ. L. 3. p. 230. ed. Weſſ. — As to Jupiter's ruling in the air, it is illuſtrated by the account of *Thor*, given above, p. 36. note [c].

[x] See Diſſert. on Mir. p. 177. Plutarch quotes the following lines from Homer, which well agree with what occurs in this reference. Speaking of Jupiter and Neptune, the poet ſays:

Both of one line, both of one country, boaſt;
But royal Jove's the eldeſt, and knows moſt.

Plutarch. Iſ. et Oſir. p. 351.

the beſt and moſt juſt[y] *of the gods*, he is at the ſame time repreſented as holding his father in chains. In the very rites of his worſhip, there was a manifeſt reference to the hiſtory of his infant condition[z]. But it is needleſs to multiply proofs in ſo plain a caſe. I muſt not however omit to obſerve, that the mention made by the Heathens, of his parents and more remote anceſtors, of his brethren, deſcendents, and kindred[a], is a farther proof of his belonging to the human race. And, if this was the caſe as to Jupiter, it muſt be the ſame as to the other gods and goddeſſes who were

[y] Αριστος και δικαιοτατος. Platon. Euthyphro, p. 5. tom. 1. ed. Serrani.

[z] Ipſius Cretici Jovis ſacra, quid aliud, quam quomodo ſit, aut ſubtractus patri, aut nutritus, oſtendunt? Capella eſt Amaltheæ nymphæ, quæ uberibus ſuis aluit infantem. Lactant. l. 1. c. 21. p. 100.

[a] Arnobius thus addreſſes the Heathens: At vero Jupiter, ut *vos* fertis, et patrem habet et matrem, avos, avias, fratres. Adv. Gentes. p. 19. — See alſo p. 92, 93. and what Lactantius advances on this ſubject, upon the authority of Euhemerus and Ennius, lib. 1. c. 14. and Epitome Div. Inſtitut. tom. 2. c. 13.

of

of the ſame family with him, and of whom he was chief [b].

[b] It may not be improper to obſerve, that, if the *twelve* gods of Greece had not been known to be of human deſcent, Demades could never have thought of adding Alexander to that number, and making him the *thirteenth*. It was becauſe Alexander thought himſelf not inferior to Dionyſus, that he pleaded his having an equal right with him to the worſhip of the Arabians. Above, p. 85, 86. His hope of becoming one of the gods of Egypt (ſee above, p. 168.) muſt have been founded upon the ſame principle; and the conduct of Demades cannot be accounted for on any other. The Athenians indeed were offended with the orator; but it was (οτι θνητον αυτον δη τον Αλεξανδρον οντα συγγραψει τοις Ολυμπιοις) becauſe he enrolled Alexander, while he was ſtill a mere mortal man, amongſt the gods who inhabited Olympus, or heaven. Though heaven was peopled from the earth, yet the Athenians judged it impious to decree thoſe honours to any one while a man only, (for Alexander was now living,) which were peculiar to the oldeſt of their gods. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. l. 5. c. 12. Comp. l. 2. c. 19. — The people of Cyzicum were ſomewhat leſs ſcrupulous; for they called Adrian, *the thirteenth god*, τρισκαιδεκατον θεον. Socrat. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 3. c. 23. p. 205. — What this hiſtorian relates in this place concerning Cleomedes, that the oracle required men to honour him with ſacrifices, ως μηκετι θνητον οντα, utpote qui non amplius ſit mortalis, explains the motive, on which the Athenians acted,

From the whole of what has been offered in this ſection, we may conclude, that, amongſt the Greeks, however they might acknowledge the natural gods, yet the dead men and women, whom they

acted, in a manner conſiſtent with the ſuppoſition of the twelve gods having been once men. Philip was called τρισκαιδεκατος θεος. Stob. Serm. 96. p. 534.

Mr. Fell affirms, p. 24. "that I cannot bring any de-" "ciſive evidence to ſhew, that ſuch" (that is, religious) "worſhip was paid to a human ſpirit under the term "*Jupiter.*" I do not know how any writer could furniſh his readers with more *deciſive evidence*, to ſhew how little knowledge he had of the ſubject, with which he would ſeem to be well acquainted. Without appealing to the facts already ſtated, I would obſerve, that Varro (ap. Tertullian. Apol. c. 14.) reckoned up three hundred Jupiters; and that probably there were many more; it being cuſtomary with the ancients to give this name to thoſe eminent perſons who either firſt founded a ſtate, or contributed greatly to it's proſperity, and whom they raiſed to the rank of gods, and worſhipped as ſuch. Thus Ammon, Dagon, Belus, and Æneas, were ſeverally ſtiled *Jupiter*. As almoſt every country had it's Jupiter, ſo ſome countries had ſeveral. The Lacedæmonians beſtowed upon their kings *two prieſthoods; that of the Lacedæmonian*, and *that of the celeſtial, Jupiter*. Herodot. l. 6. c. 68. Upon the ſepulchre of Minos in Crete was this inſcription, Τε Διος, *the ſepulchre of Jupiter*. Sir Iſ. Newton's Short Chronicle, p. 22.

vainly

vainly deified, were the more immediate and principal objects of their public worſhip.

SECT. VI.

It remains to be ſhewn, that human ſpirits were worſhipped by the ROMANS.

AS the Romans derived their religion from Greece, Egypt, and the Eaſt, we are naturally led to expect a conformity between their objects of worſhip and thoſe of the nations here ſpecified; in which it has been already proved, that dead men and women were deified.

Æneas, from whom the Romans claimed to be deſcended, brought from Troy into Italy his *houſehold gods*[c], who were the ſouls of his departed anceſtors[d]; and

[c] Cum ſociis, natoque, penatibus, et magnis dîs. Virg. Æn. III. 12. See alſo VIII. 679.

[d] The *Phrygian penates*, in their addreſs to Æneas, after making mention of Dardanus, add, *genus a quo principe noſtrum*. Æn. III. 148, 168. See Servius in loc. This learned commentator ſays, *Penates* ſunt omnes

and *the great gods*, who probably were the Samothracian deities ſtiled *Cabirs*, or *great* and *powerful* divinities [e] (natives of Phenicia, ſpoken of above [f]). We are farther informed, that the Trojan prince eſtabliſhed religious ceremonies in ho-

nes dii qui domi coluntur. Æn. II. 514. They are ſpoken of as the guardian deities of Troy, Æn. II. 293. More will be ſaid concerning the *penates* in this ſection.

[e] The *penates* being called *magni*, Æn. IX. 258. and *magni dii*, Macrob. l. 3. c. 4. ſome ſuppoſe that the *magni dii* were the ſame as the *penates*: (Servius, on Æn. III. 12.) but, in the paſſage cited above, note [c], they ſeem to be diſtinguiſhed. The Phenicians, who ſettled in *Samothrace*, introduced there the worſhip of the *Cabirs*; and, from Samothrace, their myſteries were probably carried into Phrygia by Dardanus: (ſee Plutarch's Camillus, p. 139.) and, as the *Cabirs* anſwer the import of Virgil's *magni dii*, they are probably here intended. Some think that, by the *magni dii*, Virgil means *Jupiter*, *Minerva*, and *Mercury*. Servius on Æn. VIII. 679. III. 264. Æneas, it was generally ſaid, brought into Italy the image of Pallas or Minerva; (Plutarch, ubi ſupra;) who, according to Virgil, was the *inventreſs of oil*. Georg. I. 15.

[f] P. 140. where it might have been obſerved, that, though Herodotus mentions, he does not appear to favour, the opinion of thoſe who thought the *Cabirs* to be the ſons of *Vulcan*.

nour

nour of his father's genius [g]; inſtructed the people in the ſacred rites due to the dead [g]; and was himſelf, after his deceaſe, worſhipped under the title of *Jupiter Indiges* [h]. From theſe facts it appears, that, both in the country he had left, and amongſt his own deſcendents in Italy, gods of human origin were worſhipped, and repreſented by ſacred images [i].

[g] Ille patris genio ſolemnia dona ferebat:
Hinc populi ritus edidicere pios.
Ovid. Faſti, l. II. 545.
Concerning the worſhip of Anchiſes, ſee Virg. Æn. VII. 133. and V. 58, 59. Compare Lactant. l. 1. c. 15. p. 66, 67.

[h] Situs eſt, (Æneas,) quemcunque eum dici jus faſque eſt, ſuper Numicium flumen: *Jovem indigetem* appellant. Liv. I. 2.
Illic ſanctus eris, quum te veneranda Numici
Unda deum cœlo miſerit indigetem.
Tibull. II. 5, 45.
Concerning the worſhip of Æneas, ſee Dionyſ. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. p. 42.

[i] The penates which Æneas brought into Italy are called *lignea vel lapidea ſigilla*. Servius on Æn. III. 148. from Varro. See Dionyſ. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. l. 1. c. 67. p. 53. ed. Oxon.

The

The Romans, it is true, were forbidden by Numa to repreſent the gods either under a human or brutal form; and accordingly had no ſuch repreſentations of them for the firſt hundred and ſeventy years [k]. This ſeems to have given occaſion to a late writer [l] to aſſert, "that *the Grecian idolatry* was not admitted amongſt the Romans for *above* "an hundred and ſeventy years after "Romulus." If, by *the Grecian idolatry*, the gentleman means the worſhip of *images*, his aſſertion could not anſwer his deſign of refuting what was advanced concerning the heathen gods in the Diſſertation on Miracles: but, if he thereby means the worſhip of *deified men*, (which his argument plainly requires,) he was certainly under a great miſtake. Romulus, who was killed in the thirty-

[k] Plutarchi Numa, p. 65. Varro, ap. Auguſt. Civ. Dei, l. 4. c. 31. — Statues and images were afterwards introduced at Rome. Florus, I. 5. Tertullian. Apol. c. 25.

[l] Fell, p. 14.

ſeventh

ſeventh year of Rome, had divine honours decreed to him by the people; the ſenate concurring in raiſing him to the rank of a god, though they abhorred him as a king [m]. Nay, Numa, his immediate ſucceſſor, (that very Numa who forbad the uſe of images, and is thought by ſome to have accompliſhed ſome ſuch reformation, amongſt the Romans, as Zoroaſter is ſaid to have done amongſt the Perſians,) built a temple, appointed ſacrifices, and added a prieſt, in honour of Romulus [n].

Amongſt other laws reſpecting religion, he ordained the following: *Let all honour the ancient gods of heaven, and thoſe whoſe merits have carried them thither; ſuch as Hercules, Bacchus, Æſcula-*

[m] The ſenators, who had murdered Romulus, perſuaded the people that he was tranſlated to the gods; and that, having been an indulgent king, he would now be to them a propitious deity. Plutarchi Romulus, p. 34, 35.

[n] Dionyſ. Hal. vol. 1. p. 119. Oxon. — Plutarchi Numa, p. 64. C. — Liv. I. 20.

pius,

pius, Caſtor, Pollux, and Quirinus[o]. By *the ancient gods of heaven*[p], we are not to underſtand gods that exiſted from eternity[q], but ſuch as had been in heaven from

[o] Divos, et eos qui cœleſtes ſemper habiti, colunto, et ollos quos endo cœlo merita vocaverint; Herculem, Liberum, Æſculapium, Caſtorem, Pollucem, Quirinum. Cicero, de Legibus, l. 2. c. 8.

[p] So Hook (Roman Hiſtory, vol. 1. p. 59.) tranſlates *cœleſtes ſemper habiti*; whom I have followed, becauſe it does not appear he had any particular hypotheſis to ſupport by this tranſlation.

[q] Arnobius, adv. Gentes, p. 92, 93. well obſerves: Ipſi dii *immortales*, quorum modo aditis templa, et numina ſuppliciter adoratis, ſicut veſtris literis atque opinionibus traditur, non eſſe, non ſciri, ab temporibus cœperunt certis, et impoſitis nominum appellationibus nuncupari? Nam, ſi verum eſt, ex Saturno atque ejus uxore Jovem ſuis cum fratribus procreatum; ante nuptias et partus Opis nuſquam fuerat Jupiter tam ſupremus, quam Stygius: nuſquam ſali dominus, nuſquam Juno. ——— Rurſus vero, ſi Liber, Venus, Diana, Mercurius, Apollo, Hercules, Muſæ, Tyndaridæ Caſtores, ignipotenſque Vulcanus, Jove patre ſunt proditi, et genitore Saturnio procreati, antequam Memoria, quàm Alcmena, Maia, Juno, Latona, Leda, Dione, tum et Semela, Dieſpitri factæ ſunt compreſſionibus fœtæ, nuſquam et hi gentium, nec in aliqua parte rerum fuere naturæ, ſed ex conventu Jovis inſeminati et nati ſunt, et aliquem ſenſum ſui habere cœperunt.

from *the beginning*, or from the *earlieſt ages*. To theſe, ſix more were added in later times, who are univerſally allowed to have been men, but who were eminently diſtinguiſhed from many other heroes, by being admitted into the community of the celeſtial or Olympian gods. Both theſe orders of deities the people were required to worſhip by Numa; which is a demonſtration that, in his time, notwithſtanding his prohibition of images, (which had been before allowed,) the Romans acknowledged mortal gods. This agrees with what has been obſerved concerning the Germans, Perſians, and Phenicians at Ga-

perunt. Et hi quoque a tempore eſſe cœperunt certo, et, in numero numinum, ſacrorum ad cæremonias invocari. — The natural gods were called *eternal*; (Diod. Sic. p. 14.) and to theſe Varro refers when he ſays, Deos alios eſſe, qui ab initio certi et ſempiterni ſunt. He adds, Alios, qui *immortales* ex hominibus facti ſunt. Servius on Virg. Æn. VIII. 275. — It is impoſſible to admit the eternity of the *ancient gods of heaven*, becauſe they were tranſlated thither from the earth; as will be ſhewn immediately.

des,

des, who worſhipped human ſpirits, though they had no images.

The law of Numa, juſt now cited, became a law of the twelve tables [r], and remained in force in all ſucceeding times. From hence it follows, that human ſpirits were, in every age, worſhipped at Rome, and even were the principal objects of the eſtabliſhed worſhip in that city. For the *ancient gods of heaven*, ſpoken of in the laws of the twelve tables, were no other than the following twelve ſuperior gods of the Romans,

Juno, Veſta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars, Mercurius, Jovis, Neptunus, Vulcanus, Apollo [s];

and theſe were the ſame with the twelve ſuperior gods of the Greeks, who were proved in the laſt ſection to be no other

[r] Laws of the twelve tables, tab. 2. ſect. 4.

[s] Theſe gods were often ſimply called *the twelve gods*. They were termed *celeſtial* and *Olympian*; and, both in Greece and at Rome, were conſidered as gods of the higheſt rank and dignity. They were worſhipped in conjunction. We read of the *altar of the* 12 *gods*. Plutarch. in *Nicia*, p. 531. F. and of a ſupper called δωδεκαθεος. Sueton. Auguſt. 70.

than

than deified men and women. All the arguments, uſed to eſtabliſh the humanity of the one, conclude equally with reſpect to the other. I ſhall here produce ſome proofs of the human origin of the twelve gods of the Romans, which will confirm what has been already offered concerning thoſe of the Greeks.

Cicero, the moſt learned as well as eloquent of all the Romans, who had paid particular attention to the ſubject of the heathen theology, and was himſelf a prieſt of high rank, contends, "that the whole heaven was almoſt entirely filled with the human race; "that even the ſuperior order of gods, "or gods of the greater nations, were "originally natives of this lower "world, as could be proved from "the writers of Greece; that their ſepulchres were ſhewn openly in that "country; and that the traditions concerning them were preſerved in the "myſteries."

" myſteries[t]." If theſe facts had not been too notorious to be concealed, Cicero would not have appealed to them in this open manner; knowing, as he did, the diſcredit it brought upon the public religion. He himſelf has put the following language into the mouth of Cotta: " Are not thoſe void of all " religion, who teach, that the brave, " illuſtrious, and potent, amongſt men, " become gods after death; and that " theſe very perſons are at this time the " objects of our prayers and ſolemn " worſhip[u]?"

[t] Quid? totum prope cœlum, ne plures perſequar, nonne humano genere completum eſt? Si vero ſcrutari vetera, et ex his ea, quæ ſcriptores Græciæ prodiderunt, eruere coner; ipſi illi, majorum gentium dii qui habentur, hinc a nobis profecti in cœlum reperientur. Quære, quorum demonſtrantur ſepulchra in Græcia: reminiſcere, quoniam es initiatus, quæ traduntur in myſteriis: tum denique, quam late hoc pateat, intelliges. Tuſc. Quæſt. l. 1. c. 12.

[u] Quid? qui aut fortes, aut claros, aut potentes viros, tradunt poſt mortem ad deos perveniſſe, eoſque eſſe ipſos, quos nos colere, precari, venerarique ſoleamus, nonne expertes ſunt religionum omnium? Cicer. Nat. Deor. l. 1. c. 42.

St.

St. Auſtin [v] confirms the teſtimony of Cicero, when he ſays: "You cannot "find, or can hardly find, in all the "writings of the Heathens, any gods "but ſuch as had been men; neverthe- "leſs to all of them they pay divine "honours, as if they had never be- "longed to the human race." And, though Varro endeavoured to apply what is related of the twelve ſuperior gods, and many others, to the parts or elements of the world, yet St. Auſtin ſays, they were diſcovered to have been men [x]. And, indeed, if the twelve ſuperior gods had not been ſuch, how came it to paſs that ſix men *viz.* Hercules, Bacchus,

[v] Non attendunt, in omnibus literis paganorum, aut non inveniri, aut vix inveniri deos, qui non homines fuerint; omnibus tamen honores ſtudeant exhibere divinos, quaſi nihil unquam humanitatis habuerint. Auguſt. Civ. Dei, l. 8. c. 26.

[x] Ipſi etiam majorum gentium dii, quos Cicero, in Tuſculanis, tacitis nominibus videtur attingere, Jupiter, Juno, Saturnus, Vulcanus, Veſta, et alii plurimi, quos Varro conatur ad mundi partes ſive elementa tranſferre, homines fuiſſe produntur. Id. ib. c. 5.

Æſculapius, Caſtor, Pollux, and Quirinus, were raiſed to the ſame rank with the twelve? Cicero ſpeaks of Romulus, and many others, as *received into heaven, juſt as new citizens are enrolled amongſt the old*[y]; and, conſequently, as becoming entitled to equal privileges with the ancient celeſtial gods. According to Pindar, Hercules dwelt with Jupiter[z]; and both are repreſented together, on old altars, with this inſcription, *To the great gods*[a]. And very probably there was no greater difference[b], between the new and the old gods of heaven, than what might ſubſiſt

[y] Romulum noſtri habent, alioſque complures, quos quaſi novos et aſcripticios cives in cœlum receptos putant. Cicero, Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 15.

Romulus in cœlo cum diis agit ævum,

Ennius, ap. Cicer. I. Tuſc. Q. c. 12.

Bacchus and Hercules were ſtiled *Olympian*. Diodor. Sic. l. 4. p. 261.

[z] Τιος Αλκμηνας, ος Ολυμπονδ' εβα. — Νυν δε παρ' Αγησιχω ναιει. Pindar. Iſthm. Od. IV. 94, 99.

[a] See above, p. 173. note [s], p. 174. notes [x] and [y].

[b] The difference that was made between the old and new celeſtial gods was ſometimes to the advantage of the

ſubſiſt between the old gods themſelves.

Three of the latter (*viz.* Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva) ſeem to have been more diſtinguiſhed by the Romans [c] than the other nine. They were the *penates* or guardian deities of the Roman ſtate and people [d]. And though Macrobius,

the latter. — Quid? Apollinem, Vulcanum, Mercurium, cæteros, deos eſſe dices: de Hercule, Æſculapio, Libero, Caſtore, Polluce, dubitabis? At hi quidem coluntur æque atque illi; apud quoſdam etiam multo magis. Cicero, Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 18.

[c] Particularly by Cicero, in the cloſe of his ſpeech againſt Verres: *Nunc te, Jupiter, Optime, Maxime, teque, Juno regina, et Minerva!* And by Livy, l. 3. §. 17. Jupiter, Optimus, Maximus, Juno regina, et Minerva, alii dii deæque, obſidentur. Concerning theſe three deities Tertullian is ſuppoſed to ſpeak: Ante has tres aræ trinis diis parent, *magnis, potentibus, valentibus.* De Spectac. c. 4.

[d] Macrobius ſtiles theſe three deities *penates.* Saturn. l. 3. c. 4. And Livy, (l. 3. §. 17.) after mentioning Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, in his account of the Capitol's being beſieged, adds, Caſtra ſervorum publicos veſtros penates tenent. Jupiter is called by Cicero *cuſtos hujus urbis,* in Catil. l. 3. §. 162. The ſame title is given to Minerva. Id. Orat. pro Domo, 57. And Juno

as a philoſopher, explains the *penates* phyſically [e], as he alſo does the other heathen gods; yet Servius ſays, *that they were human ſouls, which, by certain ceremonies, were converted into gods* [f]. As to the office which the Romans aſſigned to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, as their guardian deities and preſervers of the empire, they aſſigned the ſame to thoſe emperors whom they repreſented on the reverſe of the medals of theſe three deities [g].

is ſtiled *conſervatrix* in ancient inſcriptions. Gruter, p. 25. Theſe three deities were joined together in the Capitol. Spence's Polymetis, p. 58. note 53. — Livy (l. III. 17.) diſtinguiſhes the penates into *private* and *public*.

[e] Penates eſſe dixerunt, per quos penitus ſpiramus, per quos habemus corpus, per quos rationem animi poſſidemus. Eſſe autem medium æthera Jovem, Junonem verò imum aëra cum terrâ, et Minervam ſummum ætheris cacumen. Macrob. Saturnal. l. 3. c. 4.

[f] According to Servius, (Æn. III. 168.) Labeo, in libris qui appellantur de *diis animalibus*, (quibus origo animalis eſt,) ait, *eſſe quædam ſacra, quibus animæ humanæ vertantur in deos, qui appellantur animales, quod de animis fiant*. Hi autem ſunt dii penates et viales. — See Auguſt. Civ. Dei, l. 9. c. 11.

[g] See Spence's Polymetis, p. 58. note 53.

As

As three of the twelve gods were more honoured by the Romans than the other nine, ſo one of theſe three (*viz.* Jupiter) had ſome pre-eminence aſſigned him above the other two. He was generally ſtiled, the BEST and the GREATEST [h]. But Cicero, who gives him both theſe titles, does nevertheleſs rank him, as we have ſeen, amongſt the natives of this lower world. Beſides the general proofs, produced here and in the preceding ſection, to ſhew that the whole band, of which Jupiter was chief, were of human deſcent, there is diſtinct evidence that he himſelf in particular was conſidered in this view by the Romans, as well as by the Greeks. At Rome, as well as in Greece, he was deſcribed as the ſon of Saturn. In the very Capitol they placed the ſtatue of his nurſe, and gave him the ſhield called *ægis*, becauſe made of the ſkin of

[h] Jupiter a majoribus noſtris *optimus maximus* dicitur. Cicero, de Nat. Deor. l. 2. c. 25.

the ſhe-goat which afforded him nouriſhment[i]. In the Capitol likewiſe they placed a cuſhion or pallet on which he might repoſe[k] himſelf, and provided for him a magnificent entertainment[l]. Theſe circumſtances, repugnant as they are to every rational conception of the Creator

[i] Quid de ipſo Jove ſenſerunt, qui ejus nutricem in Capitolio poſuerunt? Quid illic facit ſcutum illud Jovis, quod appellant *ægida?* Auguſt. Civ. Dei, l. 6. c. 7. De Conſ. Evang. l. 1. c. 23.

[k] In Jovis epulo, num alibi quam in Capitolio, pulvinar ſuſcipi poteſt? Liv. V. 52. — Habent dii lectos; atque, ut ſtratis poſſint mollioribus incubare, pulvinorum tollitur atque excitatur impreſſio. Arnob. adv. Gentes, p. 238.

[l] Jovis epulum cras eſt. Jupiter enim cœnat, magniſque implendus eſt dapibus, jamdudum inedia geſtiens, et anniverſaria interjectione jejunus. Id. ib. —— Mactant opimas ac pingues hoſtias Deo, quaſi efurienti; profundunt vina, tanquam ſitienti. Lact. Div. Inſt. l. 6. c. 2. See alſo c. 1. — This practice was founded upon an ancient opinion, that the ghoſts of the dead really fed upon the proviſion carried to their tombs. See Athenæus, p. 427. and Kennett's Roman Antiquities, p. 361. and Potter's Antiq. vol. 2. p. 251, 257. — When their bodies were burned, it was cuſtomary to throw bread into the funeral pile. Terence, Eunuch. III. 2. 38. Catull. Carm. 60.

of

of the univerſe, accorded with their notion of gods that had been men; who, in the other world, were ſuppoſed to ſtand in need of the ſame accommodations which had been agreeable or uſeful to them in this; and were accordingly ſupplied with them by their ſurvivors.

Beſides the gods already ſpecified, the Romans had others of the ſame earthly origin. *Janus*, to whom they always offered the firſt ſacrifices [m], and whom they addreſſed firſt in all their prayers [n], was an ancient king of Italy [o], who had this precedence in their worſhip, becauſe he was the firſt who built temples, and inſtituted the ceremonies of

[m] Jane, tibi primo thura merumque fero. Ovid. Faſti, I. 171. See note P below.

[n] Janus —— quem in cunctis anteponitis precibus. Arnob. adv. Gent. l. 3. p. 117. — See alſo Macrob. Sat. l. 1. c. 9. p. 158.

[o] Janum cum Saturno regnaſſe memoravimus. Macrob. Sat. l. 1. c. 9. init. — See below, notes, [s], [w], [x], [z].

religion [p]. We are told by Plutarch, that he was ſaid to have changed the ſavage nature of man into a gentle and ſocial diſpoſition; and that his being repreſented with two faces had a reference to theſe two different forms and conditions of human life [q]. As to the phyſical explications of this god, they are various and contradictory; for he is ſaid to be the *chaos*, the *world*, the *year*, the *ſun*, and many other things [r]. He might be explained as a ſymbol of whatever the human fancy could ſuggeſt: but the received hiſtory [s] of him exhibited him

[p] Xenon, primo Italicon, tradit Janum in Italia primum dis templa feciſſe, et ritus inſtituiſſe ſacrorum; ideo eum in ſacrificiis præfationem meruiſſe perpetuam. Macrob. ubi ſupra.

[q] Plutarchi Numa, p. 72. — Macrobius (ubi ſupra) ſays: Quidam ideo eum dici bifrontem putant, quod et præterita ſciverit, et futura proviſerit.

[r] See Arnob. p. 117. Macrob. Sat. l. 1. c. 9. Ovid. Faſti, I. 103.

[s] Arnobius (p. 117.) pleads that the phyſical explications deſtroyed the literal hiſtory of Janus; *quem ferunt, Cœlo atque Hecata procreatum, in Italia regnaſſe primum, Janiculi oppidi conditorem: —— atque ita per vos dei nomen eraditur.*

under

under the character of a king, who had divine honours decreed to him for his merit towards his ſubjects [t]. Even *Saturn* (before whom, Tertullian obſerves, the Heathens had no god at all, and from whom they began their reckoning of all their gods, not excepting thoſe of the greateſt diſtinction) is ſpoken of in hiſtory no otherwiſe than as a man [u]. He arrived in Italy in the reign of Janus, and became a partner of his kingdom [w].

[t] Regnante Jano, omnium domos religione et ſanctitate fuiſſe munitas: idcircoque ei divinos honores eſſe decretos. Macrob. Sat. l. 1. c. 9.

[u] Ante Saturnum deus penes vos nemo eſt. Ab illo cenſus totius, vel potioris, vel notioris, divinitatis. Itaque quod de origine conſtiterit, id et de poſteritate conveniet. Saturnum itaque, quantum literæ docent, neque Diodorus Græcus, aut Thallus, neque Caſſius Severus, aut Cornelius Nepos, neque ullus commentator hujuſmodi antiquitatum, aliud quam hominem promulgaverunt. Tertullian. Apol. c. 10. See above, p. 252. note [q].

[w] Hic igitur Janus, cum Saturnum claſſe pervectum excepiſſet hoſpitio, et, ab eo edoctus peritiam ruris, ferum illum et rudem ante fruges cognitas victum in melius redegiſſet, regni eum ſocietate muneravit. Macrob. Sat. l. 1. c. 7. p. 151.

Under

Under his equitable adminiſtration, no one was a ſlave, and all things were common: which was the reaſon why, in the Saturnalia, ſlaves ſat down with their maſters, and all people were on a level [x]. Tertullian, in proof of Saturn's being a man, urges the Romans' aſcribing to him the invention of writing, and coining money with the king's image [y]. Others relate, what equally ſerves our purpoſe, that Janus, the firſt money he ſtamped, impreſſed on one ſide the image of himſelf, and on the other a ſhip, in memory of Saturn, who came to Italy by ſhip [z]. It was alſo in honour of Saturn that Italy was called

[x] Rex Saturnus tantæ juſtitiæ fuiſſe traditur, ut neque ſervierit ſub illo quiſquam, &c. Juſtin. l. 43. c. 1.

[y] Ab ipſo primum tabulæ, et imagine ſignatus nummus, et inde ærario præſidet. Tertull. Apol. c. 10.

[z] Macrob. Sat. l. 1. c. 7. p. 151. Ovid. Faſti, I. 235-240. — From this circumſtance it appears, that Saturn, though he reigned in Italy, was a foreigner. Pezron maintains, that he was that Saturn who was the ſon of Uranus, the firſt king of the Titans, and who reigned over Europe, Aſia, and part of Africa. *Antiq. of Nations*, b. 1. ch. 10.

Saturnia.

Saturnia [a]. Now, if the anceſtor of the gods was a man, we cannot be at a loſs to know what his deſcendents were [b].

That religious worſhip, which the Romans and other heathen nations paid to dead men, was not confined to ſuch eminent perſons as thoſe already mentioned; but ſeems, in ſome degree, to have been extended to all. I ſay nothing of the philoſophers who taught, that *the ſouls of men were demons* [c]. It is more material to our preſent purpoſe to obſerve, that the civil theology, the public inſtitutions of religion, and the current language, were founded upon the general belief of the ſame opinion. The dead were denominated *dii manes*; as appears from the teſtimony of the ancients [d], and the inſcription upon their

[a] Italia, regis nomine, *Saturnia* appellata eſt. Juſtin. ubi ſupra. — See alſo Tertullian, Apol. c. 10.

[b] See p. 265. note [a].

[c] Plotinus, cited below, note [g].

[d] Varro dicit, omnes ab his mortuos exiſtimari manes deos. Auguſt. Civ. Dei, l. 8. c. 26.

ſepulchral

ſepulchral monuments [e]. Some learned men indeed have maintained, that the *dii manes* were certain gods who took care of ſouls or ghoſts; but the phraſe does not import "the gods *of* ghoſts," but "the gods ghoſts"; and the uſe and application of it in ancient writers determine it to this ſenſe [f]. Some of the

[e] The inſcription was, D. M. or Dis Manibus.

[f] The following paſſages in Virgil clearly ſhew that the word *manes* is applied to ghoſts. *Stant manibus aræ.* Æn. III. 63. — *Maniſque vocabat Hectoreum ad tumulum.* 303. — *Nocturnos ciet manis.* IV. 490. See alſo 387. — *Maniſque Acheronte remiſſos.* V. 99. — *Magna manis ter voce vocavi.* VI. 506. — In the ſame ſenſe is the word uſed by Juvenal. *Eſſe aliquos manes, et ſubterranea regna.* Sat. II. 149. — Hence *manes* is put for the *place* of the dead: *Maneſque profundi,* Virg. Geor. I. 243. and for the *remains* of the deceaſed, either his corpſe or his bones and aſhes: *Nunc non e manibus illis — naſcentur violæ?* Perſius, Sat. I. 38. Thoſe who thought the ſoul periſhed with the body ſaid, we ſhould become *cinis, et manes, et fabula.* Ver. 152. — Horace ſpeaks the ſame language: *Fabulæ manes.* L. I. Ode IV. 16. — *Manes* cannot have a different meaning when the word *dii* is joined with it. The following paſſage of Horace is a proof of this point:

Petamque

the philoſophers limited the word *manes* to good ghoſts[s]; but it ſeems to have been applied to all ghoſts, both in

Petamque vultus umbra curvis unguibus :
Quæ vis deorum eſt manium. Epod. V. 93.

Compare Virg. Æn. IV. 385-388. When Seneca ſays, (Ep. 86.) *In ipſa Scipionis Africani villa jacens, hæc tibi ſcribo, adoratis manibus ejus,* does he not mean that Scipio himſelf, or his ghoſt, was the object of his worſhip? See the next note.

[s] Manes animæ dicuntur melioris meriti, quæ in corpore noſtro genii dicuntur. Servius, on Virg. Æn. III. 63. But this learned commentator miſtakes in aſcribing this ſentiment to Apuleius; who, after ſaying that the good ghoſts were called *lares,* and the miſchievous ones *larvæ,* adds, Cum vero *incertum* eſt quæ cuique eorum ſortitio evenerit, utrum lar ſit, an larva; nomine *manem* deum nuncupant. Scilicet et honoris gratiâ dei vocabulum additum eſt. Quippè tantùm eos deos appellant, &c. De Deo Socrat. tom. 2. p. 689. ed. Delph. — Plotinus taught, Animas hominum dæmonas eſſe, et ex hominibus fieri *lares,* ſi meriti boni ſint; *lemures,* ſive *larvas,* ſi mali: *manes* autem cum incertum eſt bonorum eos, ſive malorum, eſſe meritorum. Auguſt. Civ. Dei, l. 9. c. 11. — Thoſe who conſidered the *manes* as good ghoſts made them the ſame as the *lares.* In lucis habitant manes piorum, qui lares viales ſunt. Servius on Æn. III. 302.

common

common life [h], and in performing the rites of religion [i]. ——— It is not only from the *titles*, given to the deceaſed, that we may infer a belief of their divinity; the ſame concluſion may be drawn from the *religious* rites [k] inſtituted in their honour, which were performed every day [l], and more eſpecially on the ninth [m] and on the thirtieth [n] day after their interment. They were likewiſe appeaſed annually, for twelve days

[h] In this general ſenſe *manes* is uſed by Ovid, Faſti, V. 422.

Inferias tacitis manibus illa dabunt.

See above, note [f].

[i] Cum dixit novies, Manes exite paterni. Id. ib. 443.

[k] Above, p. 249. note [g].

[l] In Plautus's Aulularia, Prolegom. the lar ſays,

Huic filia una eſt; ea mihi quotidie,
Aut ture, aut vino, aut aliquî, ſemper ſupplicat.

[m] The feriæ denicales were obſerved on the ninth day, and therefore called *novemdiales*. See Jacobus Gutherius, de Jure Manium, l. 1. c. 15. in tom. 12. of Grævius's Rom. Antiq. and the authors cited in the next note.

[n] If the reader wants proofs of what is ſo well known, he may conſult Bos's Antiq. of Greece, ch. 24. p. 433. and Potter's Antiq. v. 2. p. 258.

together,

together, with ſacrifices and expiations [o], attended with feaſts and games [p]. The ſeaſons appointed for theſe ſolemnities were ſtiled *holy-days:* and from this circumſtance Cicero concludes, that the ancients reckoned amongſt the gods thoſe who were departed out of the preſent life [q]. In honour of perſons of rank, their friends made libations of wine, and invoked their manes, while their funeral-piles were burning [r]. Children conſecrated their parents [s]; and

[o] See Potter's Antiq. v. 2. p. 258, 260. Kennett, p. 360.

[p] Potter, ib. p. 247, 257. Kennett, p. 304, 360.

[q] Nec verò tam denicales, quæ a nece appellatæ ſunt, quia reſidentur mortui, quam cæterorum cœleſtium quieti dies, *feriæ* nominarentur, niſi majores eos, qui ex hac vita migraſſent, in deorum numero eſſe voluiſſent. Cicero de Legibus, l. 2. c. 22.

[r] Homer. Il. XXXIII. 220. Æſchyl. Chæphor. v. 86, 128.

[s] See Feſtus, in verb. *Feralia*, Guther. de Jure Manium, l. 2. c. 12. and Ovid. Faſti, l. 4. v. 533-570.

Eſt honor et tumulis; animas placate paternas.
——— Parva petunt manes.

Here *manes* anſwers to *animas paternas*.

ſwore

ſwore by their aſhes [t], which were deemed ſacred. Now, an oath is a religious act; and ſuppoſes the deity, to whom it appeals, to be both our witneſs and our judge. The fore-mentioned cuſtoms were of great antiquity in the heathen world.

And it was upon the principles of the ancient theology that the Roman people deified their emperors [u]. Temples and altars were erected to them while living [w],

[t] Oſſa tibi juro per matris et oſſa parentis.
Propert. l. 2. Eleg. 13.
Ego fame morientem videbo, per cujus cineres juratus ſum? Seneca pater, l. 1. Controv. 1. Guther. ubi ſupra, p. 1170. — Parents alſo conſecrated their children. See Cicero's reaſon for conſecrating his daughter, ap. Lactant. l. 1. c. 15. or in Cicero's works, tom. 3. p. 581. ed. Olivet. Genevæ. Ad opinionem omnium mortalium conſecrabo.

[u] See the form of conſecration, in Kennett, p. 363. and more fully in Alexander ab Alexandro, tom. 2. p. 446.

[w] Præſenti tibi maturos largimur honores,
Jurandaſque tuum per nomen (al. *numen*) ponimus aras. —— Horat. Ep. II. 1.
See alſo Virg. Ecl. I. 6. Horat. l. III. Ode III. 10. Ode V. 2. Sueton. Vit. Auguſt. c. 52.

as

as well as after their deaths. The Romans transferred the diſtinguiſhing attributes of their principal deities to the ſtatues of their emperors. To put Jupiter's fulmen in the hand of the ſtatue of Auguſtus was to acknowledge him ruler of the univerſe[x]. In a coin, in honour of Titus, *Jupiter, born in Crete*[y], is placed amongſt the ſtars[z]. The emperors and their images were objects of equal worſhip with the ancient gods of heaven; nay, the former were diſtinguiſhed by a ſuperior reverence; for it was more ſafe to ſwear falſely by the genius of Jupiter than of the king[a].

The cuſtom of deifying great princes was no innovation of the Romans; but

[x] Apelles had the ſame meaning when he drew Alexander's picture with a thunderbolt in his hand. Plutarch. Iſ. et Oſir. p. 360.

[y] Ζευς Κρηταγενης. [z] Marſham's Chron. Can. p. 248.

[a] Sic eorum (principum) numen invocant, ad imagines ſupplicant, genium, id eſt, dæmonem ejus, implorant; et eſt eis tutius per Jovis genium pejerare quam regis. Minuc. Fel. in Octavio, c. 29. See alſo Tertullian. Apol. c. 27, 32.

was an old ſuperſtition, which had taken ſuch deep root in the minds of men, that even the chriſtian emperors permitted themſelves to be addreſſed, *as gods adored by the nations, to whom the whole world preferred their public and private vows, and from whom the mariner aſked a calm, the traveller a ſafe return, and the ſoldier victory*[b]. And ſo far were theſe imperial proſelytes from being offended with ſuch impious flattery, that they themſelves arrogated the titles and ho-

[b] Even Theodoſius the Great, ſo celebrated for his piety, was addreſſed in the following terms: — Illud dicam quod intelleXiſſe hominem et dixiſſe fas eſt talem eſſe debere (imperatorem) qui a gentibus adoratur, cui toto orbe terrarum privata vel publica vota redduntur, a quo petit navigaturus ſerenum, peregrinaturus reditum, pugnaturus auſpicium. Fileſacus de Idololatria Politica, p. 17. —— Symmachus (l. x. ep. 21. quæ ad Theodoſium et Arcadium Auguſtos) uſes the following language: — Præcipua quidem beneficia numinis veſtri populus Romanus expectat, divi imperatores. Sed ea quaſi debita repetit, quæ æternitas veſtra ſponte promiſit.

nours

nours of divinity[c]. Theodoſius, indeed, admoniſhed his ſubjects to reſerve for the ſupreme God the homage which exceeded the rank and dignity of men[d]: a very neceſſary admonition, as the heathen emperors had made no ſuch diſtinction, but aſſumed the moſt ſacred titles, as well as received the moſt ſolemn worſhip. Domitian, when he dictated the form of a letter to be uſed by his procurators, began it thus: *Our* LORD *and* GOD *thus commands us*[e]. Theſe titles are

[c] Sed imperatores Chriſtianos vel divinitatis vel numinis appellationem ſibi adrogaſſe quis ferat? Noſtram divinitatem dixere imperatores Theodoſius et Valentinianus, l. 3. Cod. de Summ. Trinit. *Noſtrum numen* was uſed by Honorius and Theodoſius, l. viii. & l. xi. Cod. de Sacroſanctis Eccleſ. — Theodoſius ſuum numen vocat. Cod. Theodoſ. l. xi. tit. 1. l. xxxiii.—Et miramur dum hæc legimus in Novella Anthemii, A. tit. 1. — Julia quædam preces noſtris fundat altaribus. Fileſacus, p. 9, 10.

[d] Excedens cultura hominum dignitatem ſupremo numini reſervetur. Theodoſius, in Theodoſ. Cod. L. tit. iv.

[e] Cum procuratorum ſuorum nomine formalem dictaret epiſtolam, ſic cœpit: *Dominus et deus noſter ſic fieri jubet.* Sueton. Vit. Domitian. c. 13.

the very ſame with thoſe by which the Gentiles deſcribed their ſupreme Jupiter[f].

It is needleſs to produce any farther evidence of the worſhip of mortal gods amongſt the Romans. It has now been proved, by an induction of particulars, that the ſame worſhip was eſtabliſhed in all the nations poliſhed by learning, and alſo in the far greater part of thoſe nations uſually ſtiled barbarous. The diſtinct proofs of this point, collected from all quarters of the globe, do mutually receive and reflect light upon one another.

It deſerves particular notice, that the teſtimonies, produced in the foregoing ſheets, not only eſtabliſh the fact, that dead men and women were worſhipped in the heathen nations, but do farther prove, that many of theſe human perſonages were worſhipped in all the civilized nations of the earth, if not in many others,

[f] Compare the language of the Atlantians, cited above, p. 243, note [v].

as

as their *greateſt gods*, and with the moſt ſacred and auguſt ceremonies[g].

It is ſtill more remarkable, that ſeveral of the ancient writers cited above, though they could not be ignorant that the heathens regarded the elements and heavenly bodies as real divinities, do nevertheleſs affirm, that *all*, or *almoſt all*, their gods had once belonged to the human race.[h] Theſe writers cannot be ſpeaking of ſome obſcure tribes of Barbarians, who are ſaid to worſhip only the lights of heaven; but manifeſtly refer to the gods of the moſt celebrated nations, which had propagated their religious creed and ceremonies over the largeſt part of the then known world. And the language in queſtion is to be farther limi-

[g] To the teſtimonies already cited we may add the following: — Quos auguſte omnes ſanctèque venerantur. Cotta ap. Cicer. Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 21. — Cùm vero et mares et fœminas complures ex hominibus in deorum numero eſſe videamus, et eorum in urbibus atque agris auguſtiſſima delubra veneremur, &c. Cicero ap. Lactant. l. 1. c. 15. p. 67.

[h] See above, p. 223, 224, 255, 257, 265.

ted to the objects of the popular and eſtabliſhed worſhip in theſe nations. Under theſe limitations, the propoſition holds true in general, and with comparatively few exceptions, that all the heathen gods had been men. The witneſſes produced were competent judges of the fact they atteſt; and, even ſuppoſing them to be miſtaken in their opinion, yet what a late writer* affirms cannot be true, that *all the world knew, that the heathen gods had never been men.* The Heathens did certainly believe the contrary; but our author was totally unacquainted with their ſentiments on this ſubject.

* Fell, p. 110.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Containing GENERAL *proofs of the worſhip of human ſpirits in the ancient heathen world.*

THE proofs of this ſpecies of idolatry, adduced in the two preceding chapters, chiefly reſpect particular nations; but thoſe which will be farther offered are of a more general nature, and almoſt equally reſpect the far greater part of the ancient world. They will be drawn from two ſources: from the teſtimonies of the ancients, and from certain uncontroverted facts.

SECT. I.

General proofs of the worſhip of human ſpirits amongſt the Heathens, drawn from the TESTIMONIES *of the ancients.*

I WILL here diſtinctly examine the teſtimonies of the Heathens themſelves,

whether poets, philoſophers, or hiſtorians; and afterwards thoſe of the chriſtian Fathers.

I. The heathen POETS, with whatever lofty titles they dignify the objects of the eſtabliſhed worſhip, do nevertheleſs record their births, parentage, and kindred; repreſent them as ſtanding to one another in the ſame relations, of fathers and mothers, brothers and ſiſters, which ſubſiſt among mankind; aſcribe to them the ſame diſtinction of ſexes, and the ſame appetites and paſſions, which belong to human nature, as well as all thoſe vices which moſt diſgrace it. They attribute to them the external forms of men and women; deſcribe their complexion, apparel, and ornaments; and relate their wars, their wounds, their chains, their ages, their lamentations, and their deaths. Theſe ſeveral particulars are ſo well known, that it cannot be neceſſary to ſupport them by paſſages from the poets; eſpecially as they are ſufficiently warranted by the language which

which Cicero has put into the mouths of Velleius and Balbus, cited below[i]. Equally needleſs would it be to ſhew, either that the preceding deſcriptions of the gods are not applicable to the elements and heavenly bodies; or that, on the other hand, they do entirely correſpond to the nature and condition of the human race[k]. As to Jupiter, the ſupreme

[i] Poetæ, — qui et ira inflammatos, et libidine furentes, induxerunt deos; feceruntque, ut eorum bella, prælia, pugnas, vulnera, videremus; odia, præterea, diffidia, diſcordias, ortus, interitus, querelas, lamentationes, effuſas in omni intemperantia libidines, adulteria, vincula, cum humano genere concubitus, mortaleſque ex immortalibus procreatos. De Nat. Deor. l. 1. c. 16. — Formæ nobis deorum, et ætates, et veſtitus ornatuſque noti ſunt: genera, præterea, conjugia, cognationes, omniaque tradu&ta ad ſimilitudinem imbecillitatis humanæ. L. 2. c. 28. — The argument from the human form of the gods will be conſidered when we ſpeak of their images.

[k] See the preceding note [a]. — As to Homer in particular, Cicero (Tuſcul. Diſput. l. 1. c. 26.) ſays, he aſcribed to the gods the qualities peculiar to men, — humana ad deos transferebat: which anſwers to Plutarch's ἐξανθρωπιζοντι τα θεια, and to another expreſſion, απο των θεων επ' ανθρωπους μεταφερουσι, when he is deſcribing thoſe

preme god of the poetical theology, he differed from others only as a father from his children, or as a ſovereign from ſubjects of the ſame nature[1].

We

thoſe who taught, that the gods had been men. Is. & Oſir. p. 360 A. p. 359 E.

[1] To what has been obſerved concerning *Homer's* Jupiter in Diſſert. on Mir. p. 176, 177, and above, p. 242, 243. I muſt add, that, though the poet compliments him with the title of *the father of gods and men*, yet, agreeably to the antient theogonies, he calls Oceanus *the parent of the gods*; Ωκεανον τε θεων γενεσιν, και μητερα Τηθυν. Il. 14. v. 201. See Dr. Clarke's note, and Virg. Georg. iv. 382. — According to *Heſiod*, (Theogon. v. 453, 490.) Jupiter was the youngeſt ſon of Rhea and Saturn. The ſame poet repreſents him as addreſſing the gods, not as his own offspring, but as *the offspring of earth and heaven*. Κικλητε μιν, Γαιης τε και Ουρανω αγλαα τεκνα. V. 443. — In *Virgil*, Jupiter is ſublimely deſcribed as ſummi regnator Olympi, Æn. vii. 558, as divûm pater, and hominum divûmque æterna poteſtas, x. 2, 17. It is ſaid of him, torquet ſidera mundi, ix. 93; cœlum ac terras numine torquet, iv. 296. Nevertheleſs, according to this poet, Jupiter was nurſed upon mount Ida in Crete, Creta Jovis magni, iii. 104. and was the ſon of Berecynthia, or Cybele, the mother of the gods: Ipſa deûm fertur genetrix. O genetrix, quo fata vocas, ix. 82, 83, 93, 94. Alma parens Idæa deûm, x. 252. Cybele herſelf

We are told[m], indeed, that it *hath been affirmed, by very great names, that fiction and LYING* are *inſeparable from poetry*: a poſition, I imagine, which no one can ſeriouſly undertake to defend. Nevertheleſs, as many, both of the ancient and modern advocates of the heathen religion, when at a loſs to ſupport it's credit, have pretended that it was greatly corrupted by the fictions of the poets, I ſhall offer a

herſelf alſo was a Cretan: Hinc mater cultrix Cybele, iii. 111. ——— According to *Horace*, that very Jupiter, qui mare et terras variiſque mundum temperat horis, was ortus Saturno. Lib. i. Ode 12. v. 15, 50. ——— I ſhall only take notice of one poet more, viz. *Ovid*, who joins Jupiter and Auguſtus together: Jupiter arces temperat ætherias; terra ſub Auguſto. Pater eſt et rector uterque. Metamorph. l. 15. v. 859. The term *pater* was not appropriated to Jupiter, and often denotes only a *ruler*. According to Ovid, (Metamorph. l. xi. v. 221.) Jupiter was divinely warned againſt indulging his paſſion for Thetis, leſt he ſhould have a ſon greater than himſelf, who would dethrone him as he had dethroned his father Saturn. ——— Thus are the ſublimeſt deſcriptions of the Jupiter of the popular and civil theology given us by the poets, intermingled with the plain characters of his humanity.

[m] Fell, Introduction, p. xiv.

few

few general obſervations upon this ſubject, though with a peculiar view to the queſtion now before us.

1. Poetry was, perhaps, both the moſt ancient and the moſt admired ſpecies of compoſition. The laws of the Turdetani, ſaid to be the oldeſt inhabitants of Spain, were written in verſe, ſix thouſand years, as they affirmed, before the age of Strabo[a]. The firſt inſtitutes of religion likewiſe were probably written in the ſame manner. And the verſes, in both caſes, might be deſigned merely to aſſiſt the memory in learning and retaining the rules eſtabliſhed for the direction of their political and religious conduct, or to recommend the ſubjects by the charms of poetry. To anſwer theſe ends, there was no more reaſon to have recourſe to fiction with reſpect to one of theſe ſubjects than the other. Were the many intereſting relations, concerning the Roman gods and goddeſſes, contained

[a] Strabo, l. 3. p. 204.

in

in *Ovid's Faſti*, ever deemed ſuſpicious, merely becauſe that moſt learned and uſeful of all his works was not written in proſe?

2. It was not the province of the poets, *as ſuch*, to aſſign to any man a place in heaven, and to erect temples and altars in his honour. Romulus, for example, was not indebted for his deification to Virgil, or Horace, or Ennius, or any more early poet, but to the ſenate and people of Rome. Nor was the caſe different as to the other gods taken from amongſt men: for it was to the legiſlature, in conjunction with the prieſthood*, that they were indebted for their ſuppoſed advancement to heaven, and for the worſhip paid them upon the earth.

* There were certain rites, which, moſt probably, were performed by the prieſts, by which human ſouls were converted into gods. See Servius, cited above, p. 260, note f. — Arnobius, p. 87, ſays, Etruria libris in Acheronticis pollicetur, certorum animalium ſanguine numinibus certis dato, divinas animas fieri, et ab legibus mortalitatis educi.

3. The proper province of the poets, under their peculiar character, was to celebrate the praiſes of the gods. If, in the diſcharge of this office, they embelliſhed the ſubject with ſome colouring of their own, and exceeded the truth, (on which ſide their temptation lay;) what is the moſt natural inference from hence? Surely not that they degraded their gods into men, but that they exalted men into gods[p].

4. Accordingly, thoſe Heathens, who were moſt offended with the poets, do not charge them with inventing the doctrine of the humanity of the gods. Diodorus Siculus, at the very time that he reproaches Homer, Heſiod, and Orpheus, with framing very monſtrous fa-

[p] Quibus igitur credemus, ſi fidem laudantibus non habemus? Lactant. l. 1. c. 9. p. 38. — Illi (ſc. poetæ) de hominibus loquebantur: ſed ut eos ornarent, quorum memoriam laudibus celebrabant, deos eſſe dixerunt, Id. l. I. c. xi. p. 46. See more to the ſame purpoſe, p. 47, 48, &c. c. 19. p. 81, 82. & in tom. 2. c. 11, 12. p. 8, 9. ed. Dufreſnoy.

bles

bles concerning them[q], repreſents the moſt ancient theologers as aſſerting the exiſtence of gods that were of earthly origin[r].

5. The reaſon why Diodorus, Socrates, Plato, and others, repreſent the abſurd and immoral ſtories concerning the gods as mere inventions of the poets, is not any poſitive evidence of the fact, but a deſire of preſerving the credit of religion and the morals of the people, which were in danger of being deſtroyed by the profligate characters and examples of the objects of their worſhip[s].

6. It is indeed abſurd, at leaſt when we are ſpeaking of very ancient times, to oppoſe the theology of the poets to that of the philoſophers, divines, magiſtrates, and prieſts: for they all made one body together. In Britain and Gaul

[q] Τερατωδεις μυθους περι θεων πεπλασασιν. Diodor. Sic. Fragm. tom. 2. p. 633. ed. Weſſeling.

[r] The paſſage will be cited below, under the third article, where the hiſtorians are ſpoken of.

[s] See Auguſt Civ. Dei, l. 4. c. 27. l. 6. c. 5. Platon. oper. p. 429, 430. ed. Lugd. p. 1590.

they

they were included in the common denomination of Druids[t]. This junction of the bards, with thoſe who framed, eſtabliſhed, and adminiſtered, the public religion, is a demonſtration that the theology of both muſt be the ſame, and ſupported by the authority of the ſtate. Indeed, in ſuch high reputation were the ancient poets, that Plutarch appeals to their authority in the ſame manner as he does to that of the philoſophers[u]; and joins them with the oldeſt theologers[w]. Socrates[x], Plato[y], and others[z], ſpeak of them as the divinely inſpired prophets of the gods. The ſame idea of them was, it is probable, generally entertained in

[t] Strabo indeed diſtinguiſhes the Bards from the Druids, l. 4. p. 302, but the former were probably an order of the latter. See the writers upon the Druids.

[u] Plutarch. Amatorius, p. 770. A. B.

[w] Οι μεν σφοδρα παλαιοι θεολογοι και ποιηται. De Orac. Defect. p. 436. D.

[x] Platon. Apol. Socrat. p. 360. G.

[y] Io, p. 145.

[z] Dio Chryſoſtom, Orat. 36. p. 447. Lutetiæ, 1604. Οι θειοι ποιηται μαθοντες εκ Μωσεως, κ. τ. λ.

the

the early ages of the world; and conſequently their writings would be regarded as the canonical ſyſtem of religion. A ſubverſion of this ancient ſyſtem, after it had taken ſtrong hold of the paſſions and prejudices of mankind, the poets of latter ages were not able to effect, nor even likely to attempt[a].

7. As to thoſe poets in particular, whoſe writings have been preſerved from the injuries of time, it is as unreaſonable to accuſe them as their predeceſſors of inventing or corrupting the civil theology. Herodotus thought that Heſiod and Homer were the perſons who *framed*

[a] Sed poetarum, inquiunt, figmenta ſunt hæc omnia, et ad voluptatem compoſitæ luſiones. Non eſt quidem credibile homines minus brutos et vetuſtatis remotiſſimæ veſtigatores, aut non eas inſeruiſſe ſuis carminibus fabulas, quæ in notionibus hominum ſupereſſent, atque in auribus collocatæ; aut ipſos ſibi tantum licentioſi voluiſſe juris adſciſcere, ut confingerent per ſtultitiam res eas, quæ nec ab inſania procul eſſent remotæ, et quæ illis ab diis metum, et periculum poſſent ab hominibus, comparare. Arnob. adv. Gent. p. 148, 149. Lugd. Bat. 1651.

a theogony for the (uſe of the) *Greeks*[b]. But it will not follow from hence that it was their invention. It is much more probable, that they framed it upon the principles of the theology of Egypt and Phœnicia, whoſe gods were introduced into Greece by Cecrops and others, long before the time of theſe poets[c]. For any thing that appears to the contrary, the theogonies of Heſiod and Homer may be as faithful records of ancient traditions as thoſe of Sanchoniathon, or Beroſus, or any other proſe writer. With

[b] Οι ποιησαντες θεογονιαν Ελλησι. Herodot. l. 2. c. 53. Did the hiſtorian at this inſtant forget that Orpheus and Muſæus were older theogoniſts than Heſiod and Homer? or did he reject the works aſcribed to them as ſpurious?

[c] Epiphanius, Hæres. l. 1. §. 7. See the Diſſertation de vita, &c. Heſiodi, prefixed to Robinſon's ed. p. xv. It may be obſerved, that, whether the public religion of Greece was formed upon the poems of Homer and Heſiod, or (which is more probable) whether their poems were formed into a correſpondence to the public religion, they are, on either ſuppoſition, to be conſidered as authentic *ſtandards* whereby we are to regulate our judgement concerning it. Would Homer's hymns have been ſung in the public feſtivals of the gods, if his theology had not correſponded to that of the ſtate?

regard

regard to *epic* and *dramatic* poets, they cannot, without great impropriety, deviate from the cuſtoms of the ages of which they write; the merit of their works conſiſting very much in their being accurate repreſentations of life and manners[d]. The propriety of the ſpeeches, which they frame for the perſons introduced into their compoſitions, is to be wholly determined by their agreement with the known characters and principles of the ſpeakers. To make the ſpeakers contradict the commonly-received ſentiments concerning the gods would be more than an impropriety or an abſurdity: it would be deemed profaneneſs, and ſhock the prejudices of mankind. Whenever therefore the poets, of whom we are now ſpeaking, uſe the liberty of embelliſhment, their very fictions muſt be conformable to the received ſtandard of the public religion. Who, then, can doubt whether Homer's fables

[d] Diſſert. on Mir. p. 188, 189.

concerning the heathen gods were founded in popular legends and ancient traditions? As to Virgil, he almoſt every where diſcovers the moſt exact knowledge of antiquity*, and more eſpecially in deſcribing the religious opinions and cuſtoms of it. Nor are more authentic monuments of them any where to be found than in the writings of the two great poets of Greece and Rome.

8. Laſtly, the account, given of the heathen gods by the poets, did, in fact, conſtitute both the popular and civil theology, or the religion received by the people and eſtabliſhed by the laws. We have already ſeen, that there is every reaſon to ſuppoſe this to have been the caſe; and that reaſoning is confirmed by the teſtimony of the moſt credible writers.

The people, we are informed, were more diſpoſed to adopt the doctrine of the

* Multæ antiquitatis hominem ſine oſtentationis odio peritum. Aul. Gellius, l. v. c. 12.

poets

poets than any phyſical interpretations[f], and regarded their writings as the rule both of their faith and worſhip[g]. Even the moſt abſurd fables, ſuch as Cœlus's being caſtrated by his children, Saturn's devouring his, and Jupiter's impriſoning his father, were underſtood literally, and received by the people with implicit faith, in Greece as well as other countries[h].

[f] Varro dicit, de generationibus deorum, magis ad poetas quam ad phyſicos fuiſſe populos inclinatos. Ap. Auguſt. Civ. Dei, l. 4. c. 32. — Quod de diis immortalibus philoſophi diſputant ferre non poſſunt: quod vero poetæ canunt, et hiſtriones agunt, — libenter audiunt. Auguſt. de Civ. Dei, l. 6. c. 5.

[g] Dio Chryſoſtom, p. 447, having aſſerted the inſpiration of the moſt ancient poets, ſays, that by them men were perſuaded to erect altars to Jupiter under the character of king. Οις πειθομενοι οι ανθρωποι Διος βασιλεως ιδρυονται βωμους.

[h] Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, Antiq. Rom. l. 2. c. 18, 19, 20. — Cicero has put the following language into the mouth of Balbus. Vetus hæc opinio Græciam opplevit, ſcilicet exſectum Cœlum a filio Saturno, vinctum autem Saturnum ipſum a filio Jove. Balbus ap. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. l. 2. c. 24. After ſpeaking of

The worſhip appointed by the laws was conformable to the poetic theology, and founded upon it. The games inſtituted, and the plays acted, by the authority of the magiſtrate, in honour of the gods, and with the expreſs deſign of rendering them propitious, repreſented or imitated all thoſe flagitious actions which were aſcribed to them by the poets[i], and which reflect moſt diſhonour on human nature. Nay, it was a dangerous hereſy to reject the fabulous or poetical theology[k]. Socrates mentions his rejection of the groſſeſt fables as the ground of the accuſation againſt him[l], which coſt him his life. Now, from this agreement of the popular and civil theology with the poetical, we may infer,

of the fables of the poets at large, Balbus ſays, Hæc et dicuntur et creduntur ſtultiſſime. Ib. c. 28.

[i] This ſubject is handled to advantage by Auſtin, de Civ. Dei, l. 2. c. 25, 26, 27. l. 4. c. 26. l. 6, c. 5. and by Arnobius, l. 7. p. 238. See alſo l. 4. p. 140, 149, 150.

[k] Luciani Philopſeud. tom. 2. p. 328.

[l] Platon. Euthyphro, tom. 1. p. 6. ed. Serrani.

that

that the repreſentation, made by the poets of the human origin of the gods, is a proof that the objects of the eſtabliſhed worſhip in the gentile nations had once been men.

The painters and ſculptors convey to us the ſame idea of the heathen deities as the poets: for they repreſent them under human figures, both male and female. The image even of the catamite, Ganymede, and the effigy of the eagle which carried him up to heaven, were placed in the public temples under the ſanction of the magiſtracy and prieſthood, and propoſed to the people as objects of their adoration equally with Jupiter himſelf [m]. Is there a more abſurd and immoral fable in the poets than the rape of Ganymede, which nevertheleſs we find made a part

[m] Ita enim deorum ſimulacra confingunt, ut ex ipſâ diverſitate ſexûs appareat vera eſſe quæ dicunt poetæ. Nam quod aliud argumentum habet imago catamiti, et effigies aquilæ, cùm ante pedes Jovis ponuntur in templis, et cum ipſo pariter adorantur, niſi ut nefandi ſceleris et ſtupri memoria maneat in æternum? Lactant. l. 1. c. 11. p. 48. ed. Dufreſnoy.

of the public religion? Moſt unreaſonable, therefore, is it to treat this or any other fable as a fiction of the poets, merely on account of it's abſurdity and immorality. The gods of the poets and thoſe of the magiſtrates were the ſame[a]; and therefore, as the former were of human origin, the latter muſt be ſo likewiſe.

II. The PHILOSOPHERS are to be conſidered in two views: as perſons who had opinions of their own concerning the gods; and as perſons capable of teſtifying what the gods publicly worſhipped really were.

As to their own opinions concerning Deity, they were infinitely various. Some would not allow there were any gods at all; others not only aſſerted the exiſtence, but had formed many juſt and elevated conceptions, of the divine being;

[a] Hence that obſervation concerning Zeno, that his phyſical interpretation of Heſiod's theogony overturned the eſtabliſhed notions of the gods. *Tollit omnino præceptas inſitaſque cognitiones deorum.* Cicer. Nat. Deor. l. 1. c. 14.

and

and were offended with the vicious qualities aſcribed to the objects of popular worſhip. Many would neither allow the converſion of human ſouls into demons, nor the exiſtence of demons of a higher origin; while ſeveral contended for both. But the religious creed of the philoſophers cannot be the proper ſtandard whereby to judge of the civil theology. The former was for the moſt part utterly ſubverſive of the latter. For this reaſon it was that the Diſſertation[o] ſpoke of the neceſſity of uſing caution in reading the philoſophers, and declared, in terms, "that we had there no concern with "their ſpeculations." The queſtion agitated in that place reſpected only the immediate objects of the eſtabliſhed worſhip in the heathen nations; and therefore could have no relation to any gods or demons held only by the philoſphers[p]. Nevertheleſs a late writer has confounded theſe very different deities together.

[o] On Mir. p. 189, 190. [p] See above, p. 4-7.

Some

Some proofs having been offered[q] of the humanity of the Jupiter, or ſupreme deity, of the popular and civil theology, a known parricide and uſurper; the gentleman[r], after citing the nobleſt deſcription of Deity given us by Socrates[s], adds, *Whether this be a proof,* "*that the* "*ſupreme Deity of the Pagans had once been* "*a mortal man,*" *we leave our readers to judge.* If we form our judgement of Mr. Fell by this language, we muſt conclude, that he did not know the difference between the Jupiter, or ſupreme deity, of the Pagans, worſhipped *in their temples,* and him acknowledged only by *the philoſophers*; though the Heathens have clearly diſtinguiſhed the one from the other, as Seneca has done in the

[q] Differt. p. 176, 177. [r] Fell, p. 104.

[s] Mr. Fell, p. 104, very improperly refers to Xenophon the deſcription of deity given by Socrates, though the former profeſſes merely to relate the ſentiments of the latter. Memorabil. l. 1. c. 4. §. 2. l. 4. c. 3.

paſſage

paſſage cited below[t]. By the ſame rule of judging, our author was even ignorant that Socrates oppoſed (and ſuffered death for oppoſing) the commonly-received notion of the gods, and of Jupiter in particular, as one who put his father in chains[u]; and that this great innovator in religion was formally charged with *introducing new gods*[w]. Mr. Fell's objection proceeds on the ſtrange ſuppoſition, that the theology of Socrates was the ſame with the popular and civil. Should any one aſſert that the eſtabliſhed doctrine of the church of England is *trinitarian*, would it be a pertinent objection againſt this aſſertion to allege that Newton and Clarke were *unitarians?* Equally foreign from the point is the method taken by Mr. Fell to diſcredit the truth of the account I had gi-

[t] Ne hoc quidem crediderunt, Jovem, *qualem in capitolio et in cæteris ædibus colimus*, mittere manu fulmina, ſed *eundem quem nos Jovem intelligunt*, cuſtodem rectoremque univerſi. Senec. Nat. Quæſt. l. 2. c. 45. See alſo Cicero de Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 4.

[u] Platon. Euthyphro, p. 2. ed. Serrani.

[w] Id. ib. p. 6.

ven

ven of the gods of the civil theology, and of Jupiter in particular, by ſhewing that Socrates, who was known to diſſent from that theology, acknowledged a deity that had never been a man. Scarce could the gentleman have ſhot wider of the mark, had he taken pains to miſs it.

But, though the preſent queſtion does not properly concern the gods and demons of the philoſophers, yet it may be fitly determined by their teſtimony concerning the objects of national worſhip. They were certainly competent judges, whether the heathen nations worſhipped ſuch gods as had been men: for they had the beſt means of information concerning the religion of the reſpective ages and countries in which they lived, and they had ſtudied the ſubject with particular attention.

Many poſitive teſtimonies of the philoſophers to the public worſhip of human ſpirits were referred to in a former publication;

cation[x]; and ſeveral were cited at large[x], particularly that of Cicero[y], which repreſents almoſt all the gods, and even the greater deities, as having been men. Theſe teſtimonies, important and deciſive as they are, a late writer has paſſed over in perfect ſilence[z]; which is the more remarkable, as, according to the account which he himſelf has given of the

[x] Diſſert. p. 191–193. See alſo p. 182, 183.

[y] P. 192.

[z] Nay, the gentleman's language is manifeſtly calculated (though it might not be deſigned) to miſlead his readers into an opinion, that no ſuch teſtimonies had been produced. Speaking of the philoſophers, he ſays, *Introduction*, p. xiv. "It ſeems unreaſonable to EXCLUDE the writings and opinions of *the moſt learned and judicious* from what immediately relates to their own times and to the ſentiments of thoſe amongſt whom they lived." And though afterwards, at ſome diſtance, he adds, in general terms, that "*I very freely admitted their information, whenever I thought it advantageous to my own cauſe*;" his readers would never from hence infer, that I had availed myſelf of their information in the particular caſe, in which his language more than inſinuates it had been *excluded*, and in which, he pretends, the philoſophers were on his ſide of the queſtion.

philoſophers,

philoſophers, they were the moſt proper judges[a] of the fact which they atteſt.

To the teſtimonies of the philoſophers to the general worſhip of human ſpirits, formerly produced, others have been occaſionally added in the two preceding chapters[b]. I will not repeat them in this place, however pertinent, but only confirm them by a few more paſſages of the ſame import.

Calliſthenes, when he was oppoſing the deification of Alexander while living, affirms "that this favour was *always* "granted to great men by poſterity[c]". Balbus alſo ſpeaks of it as *a general cuſtom* to exalt to heaven ſuch excellent men as had deſerved well of the public[d]. And the

[a] See the preceding note.

[b] See p. 151, 256, with many other places.

[c] Intervallo opus eſt, ut credatur deus, *ſemperque* hanc gratiam magnis viris poſteri reddunt. Q. Curtius, l. 8. c. 5.

[d] Suſcepit vita hominum, conſuetudoque communis, ut beneficiis excellentis viros *in cœlum* fama ac voluntate tollerent. Ap. Cicer. Nat. Deor. l. 2. c. 24. — It is ſcarce neceſſary to obſerve, that, in the language of the Heathens,

the learned Pliny informs us, " that to " requite ſuch men, by ranking them a- " mongſt the gods, was a cuſtom of *the* " *higheſt antiquity*[e]". He adds, " that " the names of *all* the other gods, and " of the ſtars, are derived from men " of diſtinguiſhed merit[f]".

Nor was this the mere effect of private gratitude, but the appointment of the ſtate. *The law*, ſays Cicero, *which commands thoſe who were conſecrated from amongſt men to be worſhipped, ſhews that the ſouls of all men are immortal, but that thoſe of the brave and good are divine*[g]. Seneca, in

Heathens, to be an inhabitant of heaven, and to be a god, are the ſame thing. Concerning Berecynthia, the mother of the gods, Virgil ſays,

Læta *deûm* partu, centum complexa nepotes;
Omnes *cœlicolas*, omnes *ſupera alta* tenentes.
Æn. VI. 786.

[e] Hic enim eſt *antiquiſſimus* referendi bene merentibus gratiam mos, ut tales numinibus adſcribantur. Plin. l. 2. c. 7.

[f] Quippe et omnium aliorum nomina deorum, et quæ ſupra retuli ſiderum, ex hominum nata ſunt meritis.

[g] Quod autem ex hominum genere conſecratos, ſicut Herculem et cæteros, coli lex jubet, indicat omnium quidem

in like manner, draws a proof of the immortality of the ſoul *from the agreement of mankind in either fearing or worſhipping the ſhades below*[h]. This language of Seneca may be explained and confirmed by the teſtimony of Apuleius[i], when he repreſents the ghoſts of evil men as miſchievous; but thoſe of the wiſe and good as gods that were honoured with temples and religious ceremonies. It is recorded of Pericles, who might be called a philoſopher as well as a ſtateſman, that, in a funeral oration, (in which he was not likely to contradict the popular opinion,) he repreſented thoſe who die in defence of their country as becoming immortal as the gods were[k]. Other teſti-

quidem animos immortales eſſe, ſed fortium bonorumque divinos. Cicero de Legibus, l. 2. c. 11.

[h] Cum de animarum immortalite loquimur, non leve momentum apud nos habet conſenſus hominum, aut timentium inferos aut colentium. Seneca, ep. 117.

[i] De deo Socrat. p. 689, ed. Pariſ. cited in letters to Worthington, p. 38.

[k] Ap. Plutarch. Vit. Periclis, p. 156. D. Ἀθανατους ἐλεγε γεγονεναι, καθαπερ τους θεους.

monies

monies[l] to the humanity of the popular gods might be produced.

But it is ſufficient to obſerve, in general, that all the different ſects of the philoſophers eſtabliſh this fact. Would the *epicurean*[m] and *academic*[n] philoſophers employ the whole force of their wit and ſatire againſt the worſhip of dead men, if it had not been practiſed by their countrymen and contemporaries? The *Stoics*, though they had recourſe to a phyſical explication of the fables, allowed that they were literally underſtood by the people[o]. And their explications were condemned by the other ſects as unnatural and abſurd in the higheſt degree; ſo

[l] Particularly that of Varro; which will be cited when the *games* inſtituted in honour of the gods will be conſidered.

[m] In the perſon of Velleius, ap. Cicer. Nat. Deor. l. 1. c. 15.

[n] In the perſon of Cotta, ib. c. 42.

[o] Balbus ap. Cicer. Nat. Deor. l. 2. c. 24.

as rather to eſtabliſh than deſtroy the credit of the fables[p].

The Platoniſts, and thoſe who wiſhed to conceal from public view the earthly origin of the gods,[q] though they aſſerted the exiſtence of celeſtial demons; yet knew that theſe demons were not the objects of the eſtabliſhed worſhip[r]. And, after all their vain attempts, by their ſyſtem of demonology, to ſupport the credit of the public religion, they found it neceſſary to eſpouſe the principle upon which it was really grounded, the converſion of human ſouls into gods: a principle that was alſo held by the Sto-

[p] Cotta ap. Cicer. N. D. l. 3. c. 23. cited above, p. 70. note [r]. Velleius alſo cenſures the ſtoical explication of the fables as delirantium ſomnia, non philoſophorum judicia, l. 2. c. 16. See alſo c. 14. cited above, p. 296. Cotta reproaches the Stoics with making thoſe who were called *gods* merely natural things. Eos enim, qui dî appellantur, rerum naturas eſſe, non figuras deorum. L. 3. c. 24. comp. l. 1. c. 42.

[q] See above, p. 159, in the notes.

[r] See above, p. 234.

ics,

ics[s], by Plutarch[t], and by the theiſtic[u] philoſophers in general. Nay, they undertook to defend it as agreeable to right reaſon, and not merely as a political inſtitution[w]; and accordingly recommended the worſhip of human ſpirits[v]. The philoſophers laid a farther foundation for this worſhip, by teaching that an intercourſe between the celeſtial gods and men was carried on by the mediation of demons of terreſtrial origin, who hereby became the more immediate objects of divine worſhip, as was ſhewn elſewhere[x].

So that the philoſophers, ſome by their attacks upon the public religion,

[s] See Cicero de Nat. Deor. l. 2. c. 24.

[t] See above, p. 165-167, and p. 234. Diſſert. on Mir. p. 182. See alſo his life of Romulus, near the end.

[u] As to Plato, ſee Diſſert. on Mir. p. 191.

[w] See the authors referred to in the two preceding notes. Even Cotta thought it not improbable that the ſouls of eminent men were *divine and eternal.* Ap. Cicer. Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 5.

[x] Diſſert. on Mir. p. 175.

others by their defences of it, and all by their conceſſions and teſtimonies, eſtabliſh in the fulleſt manner the fact in queſtion, the general prevalence of the worſhip of mortal gods amongſt the ancient Heathens. And their language, for the moſt part, aſſerts or implies, that theſe gods were the principal objects of their religious worſhip[y].

III. The heathen HISTORIANS, beſides bearing teſtimony to the worſhip of human ſpirits in particular countries, furniſh general proofs of the prevalence of this worſhip amongſt the ancient Heathens.

Diodorus Siculus, in a fragment preſerved by Euſebius, informs us[z], *that thoſe*

[y] Cicer. Nat. Deor. l. 1. c. 42. l. 3. c. 21.

[z] Περι θεων τοινυν διτλας οι παλαιοι των ανθρωπων τοις μεταγενεστεροις δεδωκασιν εννοιας. Τυς μεν γαρ αϊδιυς και αφθαρτυς ειναι φασιν, οιον ηλιον και σεληνην, και τα αλλα τα κατ' υρανον αστρα· προς δε τυτοις, ανεμυς, και τυς αλλυς τυς της ομοιας φυσεως τυτοις τετευχοτας. Τυτων γαρ εκαστον αϊδιον εχειν την γενεσιν και την διαμονην. Ετερυς δε λεγουσιν επιγειυς γενεσθαι θευς, δια δε τας εις ανθρωπυς ευεργεσιας αθανατυ τετυχηκοτας τιμης και δοξης, οιον Ηρακλεα, Διονυσον,

thoſe of the higheſt antiquity delivered to poſterity two opinions reſpecting the gods. Some, they ſaid, *were eternal and incorruptible, ſuch as the ſun, moon, and other ſtars; the winds alſo, and things of a ſimilar nature; none of which have either beginning or end. They alſo maintained, that, beſides theſe, there were terreſtrial gods, who were worſhipped for the benefits conferred upon mankind, ſuch as Hercules, Bacchus, and Ariſtæus, and others.*

This teſtimony of Diodorus is confirmed by one of the moſt curious remains of antiquity. I refer to the treaty made between Hannibal and the Carthaginians on the one part, and Xenophanes, the Athenian, miniſter-plenipotentiary of Philip, king of Macedonia, in his own name and that of the Macedonians and their allies, on the other. The treaty expreſſes, that it is ſolemnly entered into

σον, Αρισταιον, και τους αλλους τους τοιουτους ομοιως. Diodor. Sic. Fragm. p. 633, tom. 2. ed. Weſſeling.

and ratified[a] *in the preſence of Jupiter, Juno, and Apollo: in the preſence of the demon of the Carthaginians, and Hercules, and Iolaus: in the preſence of Mars, Triton, Neptune: in the preſence of the gods who accompanied them in the expedition, and of the ſun, and the moon, and the earth: in the preſence of the rivers, and the meadows, and the waters: in the preſence of all the gods who preſide over Carthage: in the preſence of all the gods who preſide over Macedonia and the reſt of Greece: in the preſence of all the gods who preſide over the affairs of war, and are witneſſes to the preſent oath and engagement*[b].

We

[a] Ενωπιον Διος, και Ηρας, και Απολλωνος· ενωπιον δαιμονος, κ. τ. λ. Polyb. Hiſt. l. 7. p. 699. tom. 1. Amſtel. 1670.

[b] Virgil, who is to be conſidered as an eminent antiquarian as well as poet, has given an account of an oath taken by Æneas, (after he had ſacrificed to the *manes,*) which agrees in a great meaſure with the oath cited from Polybius. He ſwears by the ſun and earth, by fountains and rivers, as well as by Juno, Jupiter, and Mars. Æn. XII. 173, 176, 181. Compare alſo the oath of Latinus, v. 195-200. In their ſolemn oaths they

We have here an authentic document of the *civil* theology of the nations of Aſia, Europe, and Africa; more particularly of the *Carthaginians*; and conſequently of the *Phenicians*, from whom they were deſcended; of the *Macedonians*; of the *Greeks*; and, in one word, of all the parties to the treaty, together with their confederates and allies. And if we ſuppoſe, what ſeems very probable, that the treaty was drawn up after the old forms, it ſhews us what gods had been acknowledged in all theſe nations in very early times.

The deities whom the treaty particularly ſpecifies are, firſt of all, *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Apollo*; illuſtrious human perſonages, who by the general conſent of mankind had been advanced to divine honours, and were worſhipped as gods of the higheſt order. Their being placed here in the foremoſt rank is very agreeable to what we have before proved, that ſome

they ſometimes ſwore by all the gods. Homer. Il. III. 276, 298.

men and women were honoured as the greateſt gods. Theſe deities were common to all the parties concerned in the treaty[c]. The gods next mentioned are, the *tutelary deity of the Carthaginians*, (whoſe name was probably kept ſecret to prevent his evocation,) and *Hercules*, and his nephew and aſſiſtant, *Iolaus*[d], who no doubt were held in peculiar veneration at Carthage. Nothing need be ſaid to prove the humanity of theſe gods; nor of thoſe who are ſpoken of immediately after them, *Mars*, *Triton*, *Neptune*[e]: objects of general worſhip. The

[c] On the *communes dii* the reader may conſult the commentators, and particularly Servius, on Virgil, Æneid VIII. 275. XII. 118. That Hercules was one of them appears from the paſſage here firſt referred to, communem vocate deum. The penates of different countries were often the ſame. Virgil (Æn. III. 15.) ſpeaks of the ſocii penates of Thrace and Troy.

[d] The ſon of Iphiclus, one of the Argonauts. Hygini Fab. 14. p. 33.

[e] Neptune and Mars have been ſpoken of before. As to Triton; he, who was ſaid to appear to Jaſon in a human form near the lake Tritonis, was a prince in that place,

The treaty farther makes mention of *the gods who accompany the expedition*, that is, whoſe images[f] are carried with the army. Theſe are not particularly named; but the deſcription here given of them marks the claſs to which they belonged. The divinities next ſpecified are thoſe ſtiled *natural* by the philoſophers: *the ſun, the moon, the earth, the rivers, the meadows, and the waters.* The objects of nature are here diſtinguiſhed from all the foregoing deities, particularly from Jupiter, Juno, Mars, and Apollo. And therefore, though the laſt is ſo often ſaid to be the ſun, and all of them have been repreſented as na-

place. Bannier's Mythol. V. 4. B. 3. ch. 3. p. 50–52. Engl. Tranſlat. See V. 1. p. 117, but eſpecially V. 2. p. 511, 512.

[f] What gods were repreſented by images will be ſhewn in the ſequel. Euſebius ſpeaks of the gods which the army of Licinius carried with them as νικῶν εἰδωλα θανοντων εν αψυχοις αγαλμασι. Vit. Conſtantini, l. 2. c. 16. p. 544. Theſe were the camp gods, or dii militares, ſpoken of by Tertullian, Apol. c. 10. p. 11. where they are ranked amongſt thoſe that had been men.

tural

tural gods, yet they belonged to a different claſs; and the phyſical explication of them could not be agreeable to the *civil theology* of the ancient nations, which was the real creed of the vulgar, and the religion profeſſed by all orders of the ſtate. As to the natural objects themſelves here enumerated, it does not clearly appear, from this paſſage, that the civil theology conſidered them ſo much as being poſſeſſed of internal divinity, as being inhabited by preſiding deities.* The latter view, indeed, was not inconſiſtent with the former; and the divine preſidents and the things preſided over are often confounded. Laſtly, the treaty makes general mention, both of the *guardian deities of Carthage, Greece, and Macedon*, who could be no other than the princes and heroes by whom theſe ſtates and kingdoms were founded; and of the *gods who pre-*

ſide

* See below, p. 318, note ᵐ.

ſide over the affairs of war, of whom the principal was Mars[s].

I could not avoid taking this notice of the oath of Hannibal and Xenophanes; becauſe it throws light upon our ſubject, and has, I think, been overlooked by all other writers upon it whom I have happened to conſult. But it is, I preſume, needleſs to cite farther general teſtimonies to the worſhip of human ſpirits from the hiſtorians, as many proofs of this point were produced from them when we were diſtinctly ſhewing that ſuch worſhip prevailed in the ſeveral nations of the world. I muſt, however, make one farther remark.

The heathen religion entered into all thoſe public concerns which are the province of hiſtory; it was interwoven with the conſtitution of ſtates and kingdoms, and influenced all their councils and operations. If any law was to be enact-

s ——— Tuque, inclyte Mavors,
Cuncta tuo qui bella, pater, ſub numine torques.
Virg. Æn. XII. 179.

ed;

ed; if any war was reſolved upon, or concluded; if any city was beſieged or taken; if any ſignal calamity was ſuffered, or bleſſing received; the gods were conſulted, ſupplicated, and appeaſed, by various ceremonies and ſacrifices; and their imagined interpoſition in favour of their votaries was acknowledged by paying them the honours vowed in the day of danger and diſtreſs. Hence it comes to paſs that the religion of the ancient nations was ſo much intermixed with their civil hiſtory.

Now to thoſe who are acquainted with antiquity I leave it to determine, whether the gods, to whom they decreed divine honours, ſtatues, temples, altars, prieſts, ſacrifices, feſtivals, and all the apparatus of divinity, on the foregoing or other public occaſions, were ſolely, or even moſt uſually, *ether*, *air*, *fire*, *water*, *the earth*, *the ſea*, *the ſun*, *and moon*. Herodotus, during his long reſidence in Egypt, was curious and inquiſitive

ſitive concerning the gods and religious ceremonies of the Egyptians; yet where has he ſpoken of the temples, prieſts, and rites, of the ſtars and planets, amongſt that people[h]?

We find, I allow, the Greeks, and Romans, and others, addreſſing prayers to the ſun[i], or ſwearing by it[k]. At Rome a temple was erected to the ſun and moon[l]; and the ſame thing might be done in other places. But the idea of theſe celeſtial luminaries, which the mythology (on which the civil theology was founded) conveyed to the people, was

[h] Even the learned Jablonſki, though it ſo ill agrees with his own ſyſtem, acknowledges, — Herodotus, — de planetarum templis, ſacerdotibus, et ſacris, nihil quicquam tamen unquam adfert. Eſtque etiam, præter eum, vix ſcriptor alius, qui de cultu planetarum apud Ægyptios vel tantillum nos doceat. Tom. 2. Prolegom. §. 27. p. lxiii.

[i] See Dido's prayer to the ſun and the other gods, Virg. Æn. IV. 607.

[k] Virg. Æn. XII. 176. Homer. Il. III. 277. Sophocles, Oedipus Tyrannus, v. 674, 675.

[l] Roſinus, Antiq. Roman. p. 122.

very

very different from that entertained of them by the philoſophers, who conſidered them as natural divinities[m].

[m] The *theologers* make mention of ſeveral ſuns. One was the ſon of Jupiter; another, the ſon of Hyperion; a third ſprang from Vulcan; a fourth was born of Acantho; and a fifth was the father of Æta and Circe. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 21. In different nations, the ſun was thought to be Belenus, Oſiris, Heliogabalus or Elagabal. The laſt was a Syrian deity, of whom it is ſaid, that he appeared to Aurelian in a human ſhape, and was married to the goddeſs Urania. His worſhip was firſt introduced into Rome by his votary Heliogabalus, though a temple had been erected to Sol many ages before. See Dion. Caſſ. V. 2. p. 1338, 1339, 1367, ed. Reimari. The Engliſh reader may conſult Crevier's Rom. Hiſt. V. 8. p. 228, 229. V. 9. p. 157. and Univerſal Hiſt. V. 15. p. 353. Now all theſe views of the ſun are very different from thoſe given of it by the philoſophers, and, inſtead of confuting, confirm our main doctrine.

As to the other natural divinities, the fields, for example; they were not ſo properly the immediate objects of public worſhip as the gods and goddeſſes, who were conſidered as the preſidents and guardians of the fields.

Dîque deæque omnes, ſtudium quibus arva tueri.

Virg. Georg. I. 21.

But this ſubject cannot be farther proſecuted in this place.

It

It will, I apprehend, be found upon examination, that, according to the hiſtorians, the public devotion was principally directed towards gentilitial, tutelary, and local, deities, the guardians of particular nations and people, ſuch as had been the objects of their former care; and to thoſe *greater gods* whom we have before proved to be men. It is with an account of their worſhip that hiſtory ſo much abounds. Hence many of the Heathens affirmed, that their gods were not gods by *nature*, but by *art* and *certain laws*; and were different in different countries, according to the appointment of legiſlators.[n].

From the ſeveral foregoing teſtimonies of the pagan poets, philoſophers, and hiſtorians, we may conclude, that the more immediate objects of the eſtabliſhed

[n] Θεους, ω μακαριε, ειναι πρωτον φασιν ουτοι τεχνη, ου φυσει, αλλα τισι νομοις· και τουτους αλλους αλλοις, οπη εκαστοι εαυτοισι συνεμολογησαν νομοθετουμενοι. Plato de Legibus, L. 10. p. 889. E. ed. Serrani.

worſhip,

worſhip, in the idolatrous nations, were, for the moſt part, dead men and women; unleſs you can ſuppoſe that the Heathens of every claſs and order, and in every age, conſpired to give a falſe account of their own gods and demons. And, though the cuſtom of appealing to the ſun and moon, and other gods ſtiled natural, was on ſome occaſions ſtill preſerved, yet the objects of thoſe appeals, according to the civil theology, were not properly the elements and heavenly bodies themſelves, as conceived of by the theiſtic philoſophers, but rather human ſpirits, as will be ſhewn at large hereafter.

It ought not however to be concealed, that a very learned writer has attempted to deſtroy the force of this argument. He allows, indeed, that the pagan gods were not only ſuppoſed by chriſtian writers *to have been deified mortals, who were worſhipped in the countries where they died; but that this was the opinion of the Heathen themſelves,*

themſelves, the very people by whom theſe gods were honoured: yet ſtill, adds our author, *it is a* MISTAKE[o].

It is certainly no ſmall preſumption of the truth of the account, given in the preceding ſheets, of the opinion the Heathens entertained concerning their own gods, that it is, in this explicit manner, confirmed by a writer whoſe extenſive knowledge of antiquity cannot be diſputed; eſpecially as that account militates ſo ſtrongly againſt his own hypotheſis.

At the ſame time I cannot eaſily perſuade myſelf, that the whole gentile world, not excepting the moſt enlightened nations of it, and the moſt illuſtrious ſages that adorned it, and who had made the civil theology their particular ſtudy, lay under ſuch a ſtrange deluſion, with reſpect to their gods, as to believe they were deified mortals, and natives of the countries where they were wor-

[o] Bryant, Mythol. V. 1. p. 454, 455.

ſhipped, if in reality they were not ſo. As far as mere authority is concerned, that of any modern writer, whatever his learning and abilities may be, can, in this caſe, have no weight, when ſet againſt the ſentiments of the Heathens, who had not merely ſuperior advantages for forming a right judgement on the point, but certain information concerning it, and who indeed could not be miſtaken in their opinion reſpecting the plain matter of fact, viz. that thoſe, to whom they paid divine honours, were princes and heroes whom they themſelves had deified. Waving, therefore, on this occaſion, Mr. Bryant's authority, let us proceed to conſider the force of his reaſoning.

It is not credible, ſays our author[r], *however blind idolatry may have been, that people ſhould enſhrine perſons as immortal, where they had the plaineſt evidence of their mortality*, that is, at their tombs. The

[r] Ib. p. 452.

Gentiles

Gentiles believed, that the ſouls of virtuous men, after the diſſolution of their bodies, became immortal gods[q]; and on this ground paid them divine honours. As to the reaſon of worſhipping them in the places where they were buried, it will be taken notice of in the next ſection[r]; and will, I am perſuaded, occur, on a moment's recollection, to Mr. Bryant.

It is farther urged[s], that, *if divine honours were conferred, they were the effects of time.* This was not the caſe always[t]; as appears from the hiſtory both of popiſh and pagan idolatry: and facts cannot be overturned by any ſpeculative reaſonings. But indeed, at what time was it more likely that the ſuperſtitious part of mankind ſhould pay divine ho-

[q] Diſſert. on Mir. p. 182, 214. Comp. Bryant, V. 1. p. 455.

[r] At the end of the 1ſt article.

[s] Bryant, V. 1. p. 452.

[t] Euſeb. Præp. Ev. l. 2. c. 5. p. 70. cited under the 4th article of this ſection, p. 344.

nours to a hero than immediately after his death, when the admiration of his godlike endowments, the remembrance of his recent benefits, and the glory of his illuſtrious exploits, were freſh in their minds; and while their paſſionate grief, for the loſs they had ſuſtained, almoſt unavoidably tranſported them beyond the bounds of reaſon? After their reſpect and affection were cooled by time, it would not be ſo eaſy to kindle their devotion. Again,

The gentleman objects[u], that *Varro, according to Tertullian, makes the Jupiters in number three hundred, and mentions forty heroes of the name of Hercules.* Our author allows, that *many mountains were called by the name of Olympus*[w]. But does this prove there was no ſuch mountain? Is it at all incredible, that different men ſhould be called by the ſame name? Or can the fact in queſtion be vouched by a better authority than Var-

[u] V. 1. p. 457. See alſo p. 453, 454.
[w] P. 239.

ro?

ro? His opinion is in a great degree confirmed by other writers [x].

But it is ſaid[y], men are not agreed *when* Jupiter lived. On a point of ſuch high antiquity as the age of the firſt Jupiter can we wonder there ſhould be a difference amongſt the learned? They were the more likely not to agree on this point, as ſeveral perſons were called by the name of Jupiter who lived in different ages. The caſe was the ſame in other inſtances. Different heroes bore the name of Hercules, for example, who were neither of the ſame age nor country: which has introduced much confuſion into their hiſtory. This confuſion has been increaſed by their aſcribing to

[x] See above, p. 246, in the note. It is ſhewn, in Cic. de N. D. l. 3. c. 16, 21, 22, 23, that there were many gods who bore the name of Hercules, ſeveral Jupiters, Suns, Vulcans, Mercurys, Æſculapii, Apollos, Dianas, Dionyſi, Venuſes, Minervas, and Cupids. Nor was it an unuſual thing for every king to be called Jupiter. Reges omnes Διας, reginas vero Διας, appellari fuit ſolitum. Tzetzes, upon the authority of Ptolemy. Ap. Lactant. l. 1. c. 8. in the concluding note, ed. Dufreſnoy.

[y] P. 457-460.

the later heroes of one country the virtues and exploits of the more ancient heroes of another[z]. Mr. Bryant himſelf ſays, *It is to be obſerved, that, when colonies made any where a ſettlement, they ingrafted their antecedent hiſtory upon the ſubſequent events of the place*[a]: that *the Greeks adopted all foreign hiſtory; and ſuppoſed it to have been of their own country*[b]: and *that their original hiſtory was foreign, and ingrafted upon the hiſtory of the country where they ſettled*[c]. Theſe obſervations not only remove the objection we are here conſidering reſpecting the age in which Jupiter lived, but another difficulty alſo on which great ſtreſs is laid[d], viz. that the heroes of one

[z] Diodorus Siculus, l. iii. p. 243. ed. Weſſ. takes notice of three heroes who bore the name of Bacchus, and of the ſame number of eminent perſons who were called Hercules, the laſt of whom was the ſon of Jupiter by Alcmena. The hiſtorian adds, that the exploits of the two former were ſolely aſcribed to the laſt, as if there had never been more than one Hercules. Ὡς ενος Ηρακλεους γεγονοτος εν παντι τω προτερον αιωνι. See alſo l. 1. p. 28. and Bryant, V. 2. p. 57 & ſeq.

[a] Preface, p. xii. xiii. [b] Mythol. V. 1, p. 175.

[c] P. 178. [d] P. 459.

country

country had not only the ſame names, but the ſame relations and connexions, with thoſe of another.

The Heathens, we are farther told, differed from one another about the *place* where Jupiter was *born*, and where he was *buried*[e]. This might well be the caſe, ſuppoſing there were ſeveral Jupiters. Even without having recourſe to this ſolution, the objection is inconcluſive. Did not ſeven cities contend for the honour of giving birth to Homer? Will you infer from thence that no ſuch poet ever exiſted? But the tomb of Jupiter, it is urged, was ſuppoſed to be in ſeveral places; and the ſame is alſo ſaid of the tombs of Iſis and Oſiris[f]. When our learned author made this objection, he did not recollect, that it was cuſtomary with the ancients to erect monuments in honour of the dead which did not contain any of their remains. Theſe vacant monuments were raiſed, not only for

[e] P. 459, 460. [f] P. 461.

thoſe perſons who had not obtained a *juſt* funeral[g], but alſo for thoſe who had ſuch a funeral in another place; of which we find frequent mention in Pauſanias, who ſpeaks of ſuch honorary tombs dedicated to Euripides, Ariſtomenes, Achilles, Dameon, Tireſias, and others[h]. At theſe tombs, though the bodies of the deceaſed were not depoſited in them, their ghoſts were invoked, and theſe invocations were thought to bring them to the habitations prepared for them[i]. Sacrifices alſo were offered, and libations poured

[g] The ghoſts of men unburied were thought to wander in miſery for a hundred years, unleſs an empty ſepulchre was erected to them. Potter's Gr. An. V. 2. B. 4. c. 7. p. 245. See Virg. Æn. VI. 371.

[h] Potter ubi ſupra, & Guther. de Jure Manium, l. 2. c. 18. — Sæpe in tumulis ſine corpore nomina legi, Ovid. Metamorph. l. 11, v. 429.

[i] With this view Æneas invoked the ghoſt of Deiphobus:

Tunc egomet tumulum Rhœteo in litore inanem
Conſtitui, et magna manes ter voce vocavi.
Virg. Æn. VI. 505.

Ergo inſtauramus Polydoro funus, et ingens
Adgeritur tumulo tellus: ſtant manibus aræ,
Inferimus tepido ſpumantia cymbia lacte,
Sanguinis

ed out, to their aſhes[k]. It was cuſtomary in the moſt early ages to raiſe ſepulchres to perſons of eminent merit, merely to preſerve their memory and perpetuate their fame. Hence it came to paſs, that the ſame perſon often had many ſepulchres erected to him in different places[l]. There might well therefore be a difference

Sanguinis et ſacri pateras : animamque ſepulchro
Condimus, et magna ſupremum voce ciemus.
Æn. III. 62.

Pelias *recalled* to his native country the ſoul of Phryxus, who died abroad. Pindar. Pythia, Ode IV. v. 284. See the next note.

[k] Virgil ſays of Andromache :

Libabat cineri Andromache, manifque vocabat
Hectoreum ad tumulum : viridi quem ceſpite inanem
Et geminas, cauſſam lacrimis, ſacraverat aras.
Virg. Æn. III. 303.

Concerning Druſus, who was buried in the Campus Martius, Suetonius ſpeaks in the following terms: Cæterum exercitus honorarium ei tumulum excitavit : circa quem deinceps ſtato die quotannis decurreret, et Galliarum civitates publice ſacrificarent, *al.* ſupplicarent. Vit. Claudii, c. 1. See Virg. Æn. III. 62-68, cited in part in the preceding note.

[l] Vetuſtiſſimi moris fuit in honorem amici ac bene meriti cujuſpiam viri ſepulchrum illi ſtatuere. Non quod

difference of opinion amongſt the Heathens about the real places where thoſe men were buried, whom they ſo highly eſteemed as to exalt into the rank of gods. At the ſame time, the very contention, between different cities and countries, for the honour of having their tombs, ſhews that all were agreed in this one point, that their gods were men who had died and been buried.

Some have urged the *abſurdities* of the fables concerning the heathen gods with the ſame view as Mr. Bryant does their *inconſiſtencies*. But ſhall we deny the exiſtence of the popiſh ſaints, merely becauſe their hiſtory is filled with legendary ſtories as void of ſenſe as they

quod conditi eſſent illic ejus cineres atque oſſa: ſed memoriæ tantum id tributum, illuſtrandique ejus nominis gratia. Qua e re contigit ejuſdem perſæpe viri diverſis in locis plura etiam ſepulchra inveniri. Jovian. lib. de Mag. apud Pet. Moreſtel. Pompa Feralis, l. 10. c. 1.

The cuſtom of raiſing vacant ſepulchres was very ancient, as appears from the mention of them in Virgil, Æn. VI. 505. IX. 214, 215. Homer alſo makes mention of a cenotaph, or honorary tomb, Odyſſ. IV. 584.

are

are of truth? Many events that have really happened have, as Pauſanias[m] obſerves, been rendered incredible by thoſe who have raiſed a ſuperſtructure of lies upon them. Beſides, the abſurdity of the heathen fables concerning their gods is the leſs to be wondered at, as ſome of thoſe fables might have a latent meaning, and were not to be literally underſtood. To return to our author.

He urges a farther objection againſt the human origin of the gods, drawn from the character of the Helladian and other Greek writers, who aſſerted it. According to him, *the Grecians, who received their religion from Egypt and the eaſt, miſconſtrued every thing that was imported, and added to theſe abſurdities largely. They adopted deities to whoſe pretended attributes they were totally ſtrangers.*[n] *The writers of Greece did not know the purport of the words which were found in their ancient hymns*[o]. *The greateſt part of the Grecian theology aroſe from*

[m] Pauſanias, Arcad. p. 601.

[n] V. 1. p. 306. [o] P. 85. See p. 252.

miſconceptions

miſconceptions and blunders; and the ſtories concerning their gods and heroes were founded on terms miſinterpreted and abuſed[p]. They miſtook the Hebrew word *cahen*, which ſignifies *a prieſt*, for the Greek *kuon*, and miſconſtrued it a *dog*[q]: they changed *Omphi-El* (which, according to our author, ſignifies oracle of the ſun) into *omphalos*, a navel[r]: and, ſo little did they underſtand their own language, that, *from the word ταφος, (taphos,) which they adopted in a limited ſenſe*, (that is, as ſignifying a tomb,) *they formed a notion of the gods having been buried in every place where there was a tumulus to their honour*[s]. *They formed perſonages out of the names of towers and other edifices*[t]; and *out of every obſolete term*[u]: *they conſtantly miſtook titles for names, and from theſe titles multi-*

[p] P. 453. See below, p. 336, where the reader will find more of Mr. Bryant's cenſures of the Grecians.

[q] See p. 329-352. Why might not the Egyptians worſhip dogs as well as other animals? You have no more reaſon to ſet aſide the teſtimony of the antients in the one caſe than in the other.

[r] P. 240. [s] P. 453. [t] V. 2. p. 1. [u] V. 1. p. 82.

plied

plied their deities and heroes[w]. *Out of every title they made a god*[x]; and *miſtook temples for deities*[y].

Our author might have made ſhorter work with the Grecians, and called them at once perfect idiots. But it ſeems it was only with reſpect to the ſubject of religion, on which their ſentiments differed from his, that they diſcovered ſuch a total want of underſtanding. *In all other reſpects*, he admits, *they were the wiſeſt of all the ſons of men*[z]. This commendation renders his cenſure very improbable.

The improbability of the cenſure will appear ſtill greater, if you conſider who were the firſt founders of the Grecian theology. They were the natives or inhabitants of Syria or Egypt[a]; who came

[w] V. 1. p. 176.
[x] V. 1. p. 307.
[y] V. 1. p. 175. Comp. p. 444, 445.
[z] V. 1. p. 245.
[a] See above, p. 210, and Bryant, V. 1. p. 182–186. The Helladians themſelves, he ſays, came from Egypt and Syria, p. 150.

with

with colonies into Greece, ſettled in that country, and there eſtabliſhed their own religion with the aſſiſtance of the prieſts who always attended ſuch expeditions. * They afterwards ſuperintended the religion which they planted. Let every reader judge whether, under ſuch inſtructors, the Greeks could fall into thoſe groſs miſtakes which are here imputed to them, but of which no proof is produced.

Moreover, if we inquire carefully into the matter of fact, we ſhall find, that the Greeks did not miſconſtrue every thing imported from Egypt and the eaſt: for the general ſyſtem of religion in theſe ſeveral countries was the ſame[c], and their notions of the gods were not very different. Nay, the gentleman himſelf allows, "that all *the rites* of the Hellas-"dians, as well as their *gods* and *heroes*, "were imported from the eaſt, and "chiefly from Egypt[d]". Their theology,

* Bryant, V. 1, p. 281. [c] See above, p. 211, 212.
[d] V. 1. p. 149, 150. See above, p. 331.

therefore,

therefore, did not *ariſe from their own miſconceptions and blunders.*

Neceſſity alone could compel our author to give ſo unfavourable an account of the Greek writers. If their authority be admitted, his hypotheſis muſt fall to the ground. They, Mr. Bryant allows, conſidered their gods as deified mortals; but he ſays *they were miſtaken,* and that *moſt of the deified perſonages never exiſted, but were mere titles of the deity, the ſun*[a]. It may perhaps be ſaid, that it was not neceſſity, but irreſiſtible evidence, that compelled Mr. Bryant to adopt an hypotheſis ſo deſtructive of the credit of all the Greek writers, and indeed of the whole heathen world. Let us enquire whether he produces any ſuch evidence.

His hypotheſis reſts principally upon two grounds. One of them is etymological deduction, a foundation far too ſlight to ſupport an edifice of any mag-

[a] V. 1. p. 452. See p. 305-317.

nitude.

nitude. But, two very learned writers[f] having pointed out ſo many miſtakes in Mr. Bryant's etymologies, nothing farther need be offered on the ſubject, except it be that the gentleman himſelf has deſtroyed his own argument. He ſays[g], that *he has rendered ancient terms as they were expreſſed by them*, viz. the Grecians, who, according to our author[h], *changed every foreign term to ſomething ſimilar in their own language: to ſomething ſimilar in ſound, however remote in meaning, being led ſolely by the ear.* On this ground his etymologies are built; and yet he affirms, that the *Grecians could not articulate or ſpell the names of the deities they adopted, and did not know how to arrange the elements of which the words were compoſed*[i]. If the Greeks did not underſtand the language of their foreign inſtructors, yet the latter certainly underſtood the language of the former,

[f] See Bibliotheca critica, pars prima, p. 53. printed at Amſterdam, 1777; and Richardſon's Diſſertation on the languages of the eaſtern nations, p. 104, & ſeq. & p. 380, 2d ed.

[g] Preface, p. xvi. [h] V. 1. p. 176. [i] Id. p. 306.

otherwiſe

otherwiſe they could not have converſed together. Now, there being a language common to both, the Greeks, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, learned the meaning of the foreign terms they adopted. But, according to our author, they not only miſunderſtood, but were unable to *articulate*, the names of the foreign gods. How, then, could they articulate their names when transferred into the Greek language, by words ſimilar in ſound? The articulation of words of the ſame ſound, if impracticable in one language, muſt be equally ſo in every other. On the gentleman's principles, therefore, there could be no affinity in ſound, any more than in ſenſe, between the ancient terms and the Grecian mode of expreſſing them; and conſequently no argument can be drawn from the etymology of ancient terms as expreſſed by the Greeks.

The other ground, on which Mr. Bryant's hypotheſis is built, is the writings of the Greeks, thoſe very Greeks whoſe teſtimony he had taken ſo much pains to diſparage. *All our knowledge*

of the gentile hiſtory, ſays this learned writer[k], *muſt come either through the hands of the Grecians, or of the Romans who copied from them*. But of what uſe can it be to our author to appeal to the Greeks, if they were ſuch groſs blunderers as he repreſents them? And could he hope, by their authority, to eſtabliſh a ſyſtem, which, by his own confeſſion, was oppoſite to that which they eſpouſed? Why, it ſeems, *they did not know the purport of their own intelligence*[l]; and he undertakes *to deduce from their own hiſtories many truths with which they were totally unacquainted*[l]. That Mr. Bryant has given proofs of a ſagacity as uncommon as his erudition, and by the aid of both thrown new light upon ancient writers, and in ſome inſtances diſcovered their real meaning which had eſcaped the obſervation of others, it is but juſtice to him to acknowledge. Nevertheleſs, the attempt to deduce, from authors, truths with which they themſelves were totally

[k] Preface, p. ix. xvi. & p. 143. [l] Preface, p. ix.

unacquainted,

unacquainted, and to diſcover meanings oppoſite to thoſe which they are acknowledged really to have had, was too hazardous an undertaking, and in which the imagination alone could properly engage.

After all, had Mr. Bryant, upon any grounds whatever, eſtabliſhed his main point with reſpect to the heathen gods, viz. that they were all titles of the ſun, or reſolvable into that one deity[m]; he could not prove from hence, that the Heathens did not, in their own conception, worſhip a deified mortal. He ſays, the Cuthites, or Amonians, and the collateral branches of the family, having raiſed Ham to a divinity, *worſhipped him as the ſun*[n], *the deity which the Amonians adored*[o]. Now the Heathens, in worſhipping the ſun under this idea of it, may be conſidered as worſhipping a human ſpirit.

[m] V. 1. p. 305, 306, 309. Preface, p. xv.

[n] Preface, p. vii. *Ham was by his poſterity eſteemed the ſun*, V. 1. p. 244. & p. 239, 257. He makes the oracle of Ham and the ſun to be the ſame, p. 239, 243, 248, 258, 259, 273. [o] Ib. p. xv.

In juſtice to our learned author, as well as to our ſubject, I cannot conclude without taking notice, that, though he argues againſt the opinion which the Heathens entertained of their own gods, as being deified mortals, yet he himſelf maintains, that *the worſhip of Ham was introduced by the Amonians in Phrygia and Aſia Minor*[p]: that the *Cuthites, wherever they came, were looked up to as a ſuperior order of beings; and hence were ſtiled heroes and demons*[q]: and *that the nations of the eaſt acknowledged originally but one deity, the ſun; but, when they came to give the titles of Orus, Oſiris, and Cham, to ſome of the heads of their family, they too in time were looked up to as gods, and ſeverally worſhipped as the ſun*[r]. He affirms[s], *By theſe terms*, the manes and lares, *are ſignified dii Arkitæ, who were no other than their Arkite anceſtors, the perſons preſerved in the ark.* Speaking of the Greeks and Romans, he

[p] V. 1. p. 273, 274. [q] Preface, p. vii.
[r] V. 1. p. 306. [s] V. 2. p. 456.

ſays,

ſays[t], *The whole of their worſhip was confined to a few deified men, theſe lares, manes, dæmones, of whom we have been treating. They were no other than their Arkite anceſtors, the Baalim of the Scriptures: to theſe they offered, and to theſe they made their vows.* In more general terms, he poſitively aſſerts, *The whole religion of the ancients conſiſted in the worſhip of demons: and to thoſe perſonages their theology continually refers. They were, like the manes and lares of the Romans, ſuppoſed to be the ſouls of men deceaſed*[u].

Theſe conceſſions, at the ſame time that they diſcover Mr. Bryant's candour, ſeem to me fully to confirm the opinion of the heathen gods which I have been attempting to eſtabliſh.

IV. Let us proceed to conſider the teſtimony of the Chriſtian FATHERS to the general worſhip of dead men in the ancient heathen nations.

[t] V. 2. p. 459. [u] V. 2. p. 280.

Many teſtimonies of the Fathers, to the general worſhip of dead men amongſt the Heathens, were produced in a former publication[w]. Theſe learned writers have alſo been occaſionally appealed to, in the preceding ſheets, in order to confirm ſome particular articles; though my principal deſign has hitherto been to eſtabliſh the point in queſtion by the authority of the Heathens themſelves.

It could anſwer no end farther to multiply citations from the Fathers, merely to ſhew that they thought the gods of the Gentiles were deified mortals: for this, I apprehend, is univerſally admitted by learned men. Mr. Bryant[x], in particular, allows, "that "this was the opinion of Clemens, Euſebius, Cyril, Tertullian, Athenagoras, Epiphanius, Lactantius, Arnobius, Julius Firmicus, and many others." Some of thoſe here omitted by Mr. Bryant were taken notice of in the Diſ-

[w] Differt. on Mir. p. 212. [x] Mythol. I. p. 455.

ſertation

ſertation on Miracles[y]; particularly Cyprian, Minucius Felix, and St. Auſtin. But our learned author* affirms, "that "the whole of their argument turns upon this point, the conceſſions of the "Gentiles. The more early writers "of the church were not making a ſtrict "chronological enquiry, but were labouring to convert the Heathen. "They therefore argue with them upon "their own principles, and confute "them from their own teſtimony."—— "It matters not whether the notion," viz. of the Heathens, who thought their gods had been men, "were true; the "Fathers fairly make uſe of it. They "avail themſelves of theſe conceſſions, "and prove from them the abſurdity "of the Gentile worſhip, and the inconſiſtency of their opinions."

Theſe obſervations, being ſpecious in themſelves, and ſupported by ſo great an authority as Mr. Bryant, deſerve to be

[y] P. 212, 213. * Mythol. I. p. 455.

maturely examined. It is natural to ſuppoſe that the Fathers would avail themſelves of the conceſſions of the Heathens on the ſubject before us; but the whole of their argument does not, to my apprehenſion, turn upon this point. They take upon themſelves to affirm it as a fact, that the heathen gods had been men; and they eſtabliſh the fact by convincing evidence.

1. They affirm the fact in the ſtrongeſt terms. Euſebius, who was a perfect maſter of antiquity, maintains, that, in the early ages, thoſe, who excelled others in wiſdom and power, or had eminently benefited mankind, were proclaimed gods, both while living and after their deaths[z]. He declares he had proved, by unqueſtionable teſtimonies, that *the gods, worſhipped by all people, both in cities and villages, were the ghoſts and ima-*

[z] Ζωντας τι ετι και μετα τιλευτην θεους επεφημισαν. Præp. Ev. l. 2. c. 5. p. 70. D.

ges

ges of dead men[a]. And he aſſerts, that Sanchoniathon in particular had ſhewn, *that dead men and women, covered with all manner of vices, were advanced to the rank of gods; and that theſe were the very ſame gods as thoſe univerſally worſhipped in all cities and countries in his time*[b]. Arnobius, after particularly enumerating ſeveral deities who had been men, poſitively aſſerts, "that *all* the gods they had in "their temples were ſuch[c]". *The names of the gods whom you profeſs to worſhip*, ſays Theophilus Antiochenus to Autolycus, *are the names of dead men*[d]. Lactantius, as

[a] Νεκρων ειδωλα, και ανδρων παλαι κατοιχομενων εικονας. Id. ib. A.

[b] Μαρτυρει γε τουτους αυτους εκεινους ειναι, τους εισετι και νυν θεους παρα τοις πασι νενομισμενους κατα τε τας πολεις, και τας χωρας. Id. l. 1. c. 9. p. 31. C. See Demonſt. Evang. l. 8. p. 364. & Vit. Conſtantini paſſim.

[c] Vos hominem nullum colitis natum? non unum et alium? non innumeros alios? quinimo non *omnes*, quos jam templis habetis veſtris, mortalium ſuſtuliſtis ex numero, et cœlo ſideribuſque donaſtis? Adv. Gentes, p. 21.

[d] Τα μεν ονοματα ων φης σεβεσθαι θεων ονοματα εστι νεκρων ανθρωπων. Theophyl. ad Autolyc. l. 1. c. 14, p. 36. Hamburg. 1724.

we

we have ſeen, adopted the ſyſtem of Euhemerus, which repreſented all the heathen gods as mere mortals[e]. St. Auſtin likewiſe has given his ſanction to that ſyſtem, and affirms that it was founded upon hiſtorical evidence[f]. He maintains, that even the greater gods had been men[g]; and that it would be difficult to find, in all the writings of the Heathens, any one god of a different claſs[h]. Tertullian[i] and Minucius Felix aſſert, that *all their gods*, or *the whole ſwarm of heathen deities, were men*, not excepting the chief of all, Jupiter and Saturn, before whom they had no gods[k]. There were no kings, ſays Lactantius,

[e] Lactant. Divin. Inſtitut. l. 1. c. 14. cited above, p. 222. See alſo c. 11. p. 49. ed. Dufreſnoy.

[f] Auguſt. de Civ. Dei, l. 6. c. 7. cited above, p. 222.

[g] Ib. l. 8. c. 5. cited above, p. 257.

[h] Id. ib. l. 8. c. 26. cited above, p. 257.

[i] Omnes iſtos deos veſtros homines fuiſſe. Tertullian, Apol. c. 10. p. 11.

[k] Saturnum enim principem hujus generis et examinis omnes ſcriptores vetuſtatis, Græci Romanique, hominem prodiderunt. — Saturnus Cretâ profugus, &c. Minucius

Lactantius, before Saturn or Uranus[1]; and, royalty being the ground of deification[1], theſe princes came to be regarded as the moſt ancient divinities.

2. At the ſame time that the Fathers aſſert, in general terms, the humanity of all the heathen gods, they eſtabliſh it by arguments of great weight, ſuch as have convinced others of the truth of their opinion, and which probably therefore produced the ſame effect upon themſelves. Many of them have been touched upon in the preceding ſheets; others will come under examination in the next ſection: and therefore, to avoid repetition, I ſhall barely mention them in this place, without enquiring into their force. Nor ſhall I attempt to

Minucius Felix, c. 22. p. 113, 114. ed. Davis. — Ante Saturnum deus penes vos nemo eſt. Tertullian. Apol. c. 10. cited at large above, p. 265. — See alſo Arnobius, p. 92, 93. cited above, p. 252.

[1] Lactant. l. 1. c. 15.

make

make diſtinct mention of all their arguments, but only touch upon ſome of the principal.

They appeal to ancient tradition and all the authentic records of pagan antiquity [m]; to the diſtinct teſtimonies of their poets and their hiſtorians [n]; to the diſcovery of the earthly origin of the gods in the myſteries; and to the report of thoſe who had divulged this ſecret to the world [p]. "The genealogies of your

[m] Si enim forte vos fugit, ſortis eos humanæ, et conditionis fuiſſe communis; replicate antiquiſſimas literas, et eorum ſcripta percurrite, qui vetuſtati vicini, ſine ullis aſſentationibus cuncta veritate in liquida prodiderunt. Arnobius, p. 21. — Non attendunt in omnibus literis paganorum, &c. Auguſt. Civ. Dei, l. 8. c. 26. cited above, p. 257.

[n] Quod ſi quis dubitet, res eorum geſtas, et facta, conſideret: quæ univerſa tum poetæ, tum hiſtorici veteres, prodiderunt. Lactant. l. 1. c. 8. p. 35.

[p] Particularly Leo, the Egyptian prieſt. Minuc. Felix, p. 121, 122. Cyprian. de Idol. Vanit. p. 12. ed. Fell. Auguſt. Civ. Dei, l. 8. c. 5, 27.

"gods",

" gods[q]", ſaid the Fathers in their addreſſes to the Heathens, " and their " marriages, their adulteries, and other " crimes[r], point out their participation " of human nature. They were kings " who were indebted for their divinity " to the adulation of their ſubjects[s]. " Their fathers and mothers, their " country, their tribe and kindred, " their exploits and various fortunes,

[q] Theophilus Ant. ad Autolyc. l. 2. p. 72. is thus rendered by Wolfius. Etenim dum genealogias eorum percurritis, pro hominibus eos habetis; paulo poſt vero deos appellatis, et colitis, nec recogitantes, neque intelligentes, eos tales eſſe, quales natos legitis. Tatian (Orat. ad Græcos, c. 36. p. 79. ed. Worth) argues in the ſame manner. Γινεσιν αν λεγητε θεων, και θνητας αυτας αποφαινεσθε.

[r] Tatian. ubi ſupra, p. 30, 31. Tertullian, after enumerating the crimes imputed to the gods by their votaries, adds, At quin ut illos homines fuiſſe non poſſitis negare, etiam iſtæ notæ accedunt. Apol. c. 11. p. 12.

[s] Quomodò ergo, inquiet aliquis, dii crediti ſunt? Nimirum quia reges maximi ac potentiſſimi fuerint. Lactant. l. 1. c. 8. p. 35. In c. 15. he handles the ſubject more largely. Compare Cyprian de Idol. Vanitat. init. & Minucius Felix, c. 29. p. 147, 148.

" are

" are all on record[t]. It is well known
" in what cities they were born, and
" where they were buried[u]. And,
" if farther proofs of their humanity
" are deſired, we appeal to the viands[w]
" with which your gods are ſupplied, to
" the images[x] by which they are repre-
" ſented, and to the temples[y] in which
" their remains are depoſited. But the
" fact itſelf, that all thoſe whom you

[t] See above, note [n], Auguſt. Civ. D. l. 8. c. 27. and Tertullian. Apol. c. 10. p. 11. ed. Rigalt. I ſhall ſet down the words of Arnobius, p. 21. Jam profecto diſcetis, quibus ſinguli patribus, quibus matribus, fuerint procreati, qua in nati regione, qua gente, quæ fecerint, egerint, pertulerint, actitarint, quas in rebus obeundis adverſorum ſenſerint, ſecundantiumque fortunas.

[u] The heathen records teſtified to his time, ſays Tertullian, (Apol. c. 10. p. 11.) et civitatibus in quibus nati ſunt; et regionibus in quibus aliquid operati veſtigia reliquerunt, in quibus etiam ſepulti demonſtrantur. See Recogn. S. Clementis, l. 10. c. 23, 24. p. 594. ap. Patres Apoſt. V. 1. ed. Clerici.

[w] Sin autem ſcientes uteris eſſe geſtatos, et frugibus eos victitaſſe terrenis. Arnob. p. 21. See the next ſection under the article of *worſhip*.

[x] See the next ſection, article V. [y] Ib. article II.

" now

" now worſhip as gods had once been " men, is ſo notorious that you " cannot deny it[z]. It is becauſe you " cannot deny that the objects of your " worſhip had been men, that you af- " firm them to be now advanced to the " rank of gods[a]. Nor have you any o- " ther reaſon, for flying to a phyſical " explication of the fables, than your " being aſhamed of the literal hiſtory[b]".

This is the natural language of perſons fully perſuaded of the truth of what they ſaid. Under this ſtrong perſuaſion,

[z] Provocamus a vobis ad conſcientiam veſtram. Illa nos judicet, illa nos damnet, ſi poterit negare *omnes* iſtos deos veſtros homines fuiſſe. Tertullian. Apol. c. 10. p. 11.

[a] Et quoniam ſicut illos homines fuiſſe non audetis denegare, ita poſt mortem deos factos inſtituiſtis aſſeverare. Tertullian. Apol. c. 11. p. 11.

[b] Ipſa quoque vulgaris ſuperſtitio communis idololatriæ, cùm in ſimulacris de nominibus et fabulis veterum mortuorum pudet, ad interpretationem naturalium refugit, et dedecus ſuum ingenio adumbrat. Tertullian. adv. Marcion. l. 1. p. 371, 372. ed. Rigalt. 1675. — Ut ſcriptorum tantam defendatis audaciam, allegorias res illas, et naturalis ſcientiæ mentimini eſſe doctrinas. Arnobius, p. 150.

they

they openly inſult the public religion of their country, and juſtify their non-conformity to it on account of it's preſcribing the worſhip of the dead. With great eloquence and ſtrength of reaſoning do they expoſe the abſurdity of that worſhip, and the folly and arrogance of pretending, by certain ceremonies, to convert mortal men into immortal gods, and to advance them to celeſtial dignity and power[c]. Theſe reproaches, had they not been well founded, would have been received with all the contempt they deſerved; and thoſe, who urged them with ſo much confidence and triumph, would have appeared ridiculous in the eyes of all the world. But their reaſonings on this ſubject had a very different effect, and contributed greatly to the downfal of pagan idolatry.

The opinion and teſtimony of the Fathers, under the foregoing circumſtances, ſeem to me to be of great weight.

[c] See Lactant. l. 1. c. 15. p. 69, 70. ed. Dufreſnoy.

They

They were bred up in the heathen religion, or lived in the times when it flouriſhed; and therefore were as competent judges of it as the Heathens themſelves could be. After the moſt critical examination of it, they confidently pronounced the objects of national worſhip to be human ſpirits. They ſupported this opinion by arguments more than by the authority or conceſſions of the Heathens. And, ſo clear and cogent were their reaſonings, that idolaters deſerted the worſhip of their falſe gods, and adored only the creator of heaven and earth.

A late writer, who would ſeem to be very jealous of the credit of the Fathers[d], A a knew

[d] In the Eſſay on the Demoniacs, p. 53, 54, in the note, after citing from Jerome, in his own words, a paſſage, which may be thus tranſlated: *Becauſe they* (the Fathers) *are ſometimes compelled to ſpeak,* NOT WHAT THEY THINK, *but what neceſſity requires, they oppoſe what the Gentiles advance:* I immediately added, *Whenever they had an end to ſerve, no caution can be too great in following them.* This obſervation is cenſured by Mr. Fell, (Demoniacs, p. 156.) and ſeems to have been the principal

knew very little what pains he was taking to deſtroy it. He not only oppoſes their principal ground on which he aſks, p. 160, "Is not this "ſuch an attack upon the common honeſty of man-"kind ——— as naturally deſtroys the faith of all "hiſtory, while it leads to *univerſal* ſcepticiſm?" Here it is obvious to remark, 1. That the character which is given the Fathers by Jerome, who was himſelf one of them, is confirmed by the teſtimony of ſeveral others; as the reader may find by conſulting Daillé, or a late learned publication (p. 83, &c.) by the Rev. Mr. Henry Taylor, which contains many valuable reflections on the fifteenth chapter of the 1ſt volume of Mr. Gibbons's Hiſtory. 2. The obſervation which Mr. Fell condemns is no more than a juſt inference from that character which Jerome, a very competent and impartial judge, had given the Fathers. Nevertheleſs Mr. Fell treats it as a groundleſs calumny; nor could it be conſidered in any other light by an unlearned reader; for our author has cited the obſervation without taking any notice of Jerome, the authority upon which it was founded. The gentleman aſſures us, in his title-page, that truth was his only object; otherwiſe I ſhould have thought, that, on this as on almoſt all other occaſions, obloquy had been no ſmall part of his deſign. Can he point out the place where I have ſaid, what he (in p. 156) expreſsly repreſents me as ſaying, "That no ſtreſs "is to be laid on their (the Fathers) *general* conduct?" The gentleman often honours me with ſuch additions. 3. If the obſervation complained of *deſtroys the faith of all*

their *opinion*, but labours to overturn their *teſtimony*. They affirm it as a *fact*, which none could controvert, that the heathen gods had been men. Mr. Fell, on the contrary, maintains[e], that "all the

all hiſtory, St. Jerome alone (whoſe language fully warrants it, but whom our author has kept out of ſight) is the perſon on whom the blame ſhould be laid. The conduct of the Fathers is certainly liable to juſt cenſure, whether the character they give of themſelves be true or falſe. If it be true, who can juſtify them? If it be falſe, (which it would be abſurd to ſuppoſe,) you will find it neceſſary in this inſtance to diſbelieve them. But this by no means deſtroys the faith of all hiſtory. The deceptions to which we are liable are a ground of *caution*, not of *univerſal ſcepticiſm*. Human teſtimony, by which men determine concerning the lives and properties of others in courts of judicature, is, *under proper circumſtances*, a ſure ground of dependence. The teſtimony of the Fathers in particular, on every point of real importance to Chriſtianity, is, I apprehend, confirmed by ſuch circumſtantial evidence as prevents the very poſſibility of deception. 4. The reaſons I aſſigned for rejecting the profeſſed *opinion* of ſome of the Fathers, concerning the *poſſeſſing demons*, (Eſſay on Demoniacs, p. 49-56, and Introduction, p. 7, 8.) do not at all hold in the caſe of the teſtimony they bear to the *fact* now before us, the human origin of the heathen gods.

[e] P. 110.

world *knew* they had never been men." If this be true, the Fathers are chargeable, not with ignorance or error, but with wilful falſehood. I do not ſay the gentleman really deſigned to advance ſo ſevere a charge againſt them. It does not appear, from his writings, that he had any acquaintance with their ſentiments on the ſubject before us, or that he had ſo much as read the extracts from them in the Diſſertation which he undertook to anſwer. At leaſt, he has taken no notice of thoſe extracts; and therefore, if he did read them, he did not judge them worthy of a reply. His ſilence muſt be conſidered as expreſſive either of his ignorance of the Fathers, or of his ſovereign contempt of them; unleſs we reſolve it into ſome prudential conſideration.

I have now diſtinctly examined the ſentiments of the Gentiles and of the early Chriſtians concerning the heathen gods; and have ſhewn that they both agree in affirming their earthly origin. The

Fathers,

Fathers, in particular, do often aſſert, in general terms, and without making any exceptions, *that all the pagan deities had once been men.* Nevertheleſs, a late writer imagined[f], that " no opinion " could be more erroneous than this." I leave it to the reader to judge, whether the propoſition here condemned be not, under a few obvious reſtrictions, confirmed by the cleareſt and ſtrongeſt teſtimonies.——— But we ſhall advance one ſtep farther under the next ſection.

SECT. II.

General proofs of the worſhip of human ſpirits, amongſt the ancient Heathens, drawn from FACTS.

EVERY one muſt have obſerved, that the teſtimony of competent and honeſt witneſſes, which in itſelf is a reaſonable ground of dependence, may be confirmed by ſuch circumſtantial evi-

[f] Mr. Fell. See above, p. 12.

dence as to remove every degree of doubt or ſuſpicion. This obſervation was never more applicable than to the caſe before us. The teſtimonies to the worſhip of human ſpirits in particular nations, and to it's general prevalence, hitherto produced, receive the ſtrongeſt confirmation from facts and circumſtances which cannot be controverted with any colour of reaſon; and yet cannot be accounted for but upon the ſuppoſition of the truth of thoſe teſtimonies. This argument was urged in a former publication[s], (though overlooked by the gentleman who wrote againſt it;) but it well deſerves a larger illuſtration than was conſiſtent with the occaſion on which it was there introduced.

I. I ſhall begin with taking notice, that divine honours were paid to the dead, according to their different ranks and characters when living, at all the SEPULCHRES of the Heathens.

[s] Diſſertat. on Mir. p. 193.

There

There has already been occaſion to obſerve[h], that ſacrifices and libations were offered in honour of *all* the dead at the places of their interment. Children were compelled by law to perform theſe rites to their parents; and, where there were no children, heirs were laid under the ſame obligation to do it[i].

No wonder, then, that religious honours ſhould be paid to perſons diſtinguiſhed by their rank or merit. Alexander and Hephæſtion offered ſacrifices at the tombs of Achilles and the Trojan heroes upon the plains of Troy[k].

The tombs of the ancients were ſometimes built of ſtone, and called *Karns*[l]; but were more commonly conical mounds of earth, well known here in England by the name of *barrows*, which were rai-

[h] Above, p. 249, 270.

[i] Petit. Leg. Attic. p. 601.

[k] Arrian. Exped. Alex. l. 1. c. 11. p. 25. ed. Gronov. Q. Curt. l. 2. c. 4. Freinſhem. Supplem. tom. 1. p. 27. ed. Snakenburg.

[l] Borlaſe, Antiq. of Cornwal, p. 212.

ſed over the dead body, or, in caſe of it's being burned, over the bones and aſhes. Theſe *tumuli*, or ſepulchral mounds, were ſometimes built in the ſhape of altars[m], undoubtedly that they might be uſed as ſuch, as they alſo often were when not made in this particular ſhape[n].

But, in moſt caſes, altars, diſtinct from the ſacred mounds, were raiſed near them for the purpoſe of worſhip. The Trojans erected to Polydore not only a large tomb or mound of earth, but altars likewiſe, and ſacrificed to his manes[o]. Andromache alſo raiſed a vacant tomb, and conſecrated two altars, to Hector[p].

Amongſt perſons elevated above the level of the vulgar there was a great diſtinction made, not only with reſpect to

[m] The ſepulchre of Themiſtocles was βωμοειδὴς, according to the authors cited by Plutarch, Vit. Themiſt. p. 128. E.

[n] See Borlaſe, p. 222.

[o] Virg. Æn. III. 62. cited above, p. 328, in note [l].

[p] Id. ib. v. 303, cited above, p. 329, in note [k].

the

the magnificence of their ſepulchres, but alſo in regard to the worſhip that was paid them. Herodotus relates of the Amathuſians, that they were admoniſhed by an oracle, *to ſacrifice annually to Oneſilus as to a hero*[q]. To Philippus, of Crotona, the Egiſtans *erected the monument of a hero upon his tomb, and propitiated him with ſacrifices*[r]. When heroes were exalted to the rank of gods, they were ſtill more honourably diſtinguiſhed. To what has been already[s] ſaid upon this ſubject I here add, that Caſtor and Pollux *received equal honours with the gods**: which implies that their honours were ſuperior to thoſe paid to heroes. The *taphos*, or *tomb*, of Jupiter, built by the Magneſians, who thought he was buried in their country, was a ſtructure worthy of admiration[t]; and every one knows he was the ſupreme object of religious worſhip amongſt the ſeveral nations of Greece.

[q] Ονεσιλεω δε θυειν, ως ηρωϊ, ανα παν ετος. Herodot. l. 5. c. 114.

[r] Επι γαρ του ταφου αυτου ηρωον ιδρυσαμενοι, θυσιησι αυτον ιλασκοντο. Id. ib. c. 47. [s] P. 172–176.

* Τιμας ισοθεους ισχον. Plutarchi Theſeus, 16. A.

[t] Ταφον θεας αξιον. Pauſaniæ Corinthiaca, p. 161.

Princes

Princes and great commanders had their ſepulchres dignified by *a cromlech*[u], which was compoſed of a large flat ſtone, in or near a horizontal poſition, ſupported by erect ſtones[w]. The word denotes *a conſecrated ſtone*[x] or *table*. The repaſts provided for the dead (conſiſting commonly of vegetables, bread, and eggs) were called *ſilicernia*, or *ſuppers upon a ſtone*. Theſe ſtone-tables were called *altars*[y], not merely on account of their form, as ſome ſuppoſe, but alſo on account of their uſe; the ſupper placed upon them being an offering to the dii manes. A learned writer allows, that the places round about them were the ſcenes of the parentalia, or where the dead were worſhipped[z]. Now, as this worſhip conſiſted, in part, in the celebration of a feaſt, it is natural to ſuppoſe, that the cromlech was the table or altar on which was laid that part of it which was deſigned for the uſe of the departed.

A

[u] Borlaſe, p. 229. [w] Id. p. 223.

[x] חרם לוח. Rowland, p. 47, 214. Borlaſe, p. 225.

[y] Borlaſe, p. 228.

[z] Wormius, p. 8. ſpeaking of the cromlech, ſays, ex parte ſepulchro impoſita eſſe ſolet, eo fine, ut

A very learned writer contends, that cromlechs and barrows were not places where the gods were buried, but only where they were worſhipped. When ſpeaking of thoſe mounds, in Greece, that were fenced round with a border of ſtone-work, upon the top of which a large ſtone was placed, he ſays[a], *They were looked upon as receptacles of the dead: but were high altars, with their ſacred* τεμενη, *which had been erected for divine worſhip in the moſt early times.* The ταφοι, *(taphoi,)* he affirms[b], *were not tombs, but conical mounds of earth, on which, in the firſt ages, offerings were made by fire.* He repreſents the ſacred tupha of the Perſians as being *ſet apart as puratheia, for the celebration of the rites of this element*[c]. The word (ταφος) *taphos* is ſometimes uſed, in a large ſenſe, for *a hillock*; but it was, ſays Mr. Bryant, interpreted by the Greeks *a tomb*[d]. And, adopting it in this limited ſenſe, "they for-

ut ibidem in memoriam defuncti quotannis ſacra peragantur. See Borlaſe, p. 227, 229, 230.

[a] Bryant, Mythol. v. 1. p. 466. [b] P. 456.

[c] P. 467. [d] P. 453, 451.

"med

" med a notion of their gods having been " buried in every place where there was a " tumulus to their honour"[e].

According to our author, *taphos*, *taph*, or *tuph*, *ſeems to have been a word current in many countries*[f]. Now, might it not denote a ſepulchral mound in other nations as well as in Greece? That it was miſinterpreted by the Greeks, and by them alone, is a point which has not been proved, and ought not to be taken for granted. Beſides, how improbable is it, that they ſhould adopt this term into their own language without learning the meaning of it, eſpecially as it was in ſuch common uſe in the nations around them? Our author affirms, that the practice of raiſing the taphoi, or mounds, in queſtion, was tranſmitted from the Egyptians into Greece[g]; and that many of them were raiſed in different parts of that country by the Amonians[h]. Now if neither any inſtruction in the meaning of the term, nor even ſamples of the

[e] P. 453. [f] P. 449, 450. [g] Bryant, p. 467. [h] P. 451.

thing

thing intended by it, could enable the Greeks to underſtand it, though the plaineſt in all their language, their ſtupidity is without a parallel, and diſcovered itſelf on more ſubjects than the names of the foreign gods[1]. After all, if the Greeks were miſtaken, in ſuppoſing that the gods had been buried in the places where there were tumuli to their honour, they could not have fallen into ſuch a miſtake, if they had not firſt learned, (from the Egyptians, Amonians, and others,) that the gods had been men.

If we only conſider the nature of the cromlechs, we ſhall ſoon be convinced that they could not ſerve as altars for ſacrifical fires; becauſe no fire could be kindled upon them ſufficient to conſume the victim without ſcorching the officiating prieſt; becauſe few, if any, of them, could bear the intenſeneſs of the ſacrifical fire; and becauſe the table-ſtone of ſome of them was ſo very

[1] See above, p. 331. & ſeq.

gibbous,

gibbous, that no prieſt could ſtand on it, either to tend the fire or overſee the conſumption of the victim[k]. Their ſize, and form, and quality, conclude equally againſt the notion of their being deſigned for the celebration of the rites of fire.

That the conical mounds of raiſed earth were ſepulchres, and the cromlechs ſepulchral tables or altars, on which oblations of food were made to the dead, cannot well be doubted by thoſe who reflect, that the barrow was one of the moſt ancient and common methods of interring the dead[l]; that the cromlechs are found upon[m], and often ſurrounded with, barrows; that the common people called them *grave-ſtones*[n]; that

[k] In proof of theſe points, ſee Borlaſe, p. 226, 227.

[l] Borlaſe, p. 228. [m] Id. p. 229.

[n] On the hill *Ridge*, north of Pottiſham, in Dorſetſhire, is a cromlech, which ſtands upon a tumulus, or barrow, and is called by the common people *hell-ſtone*, that is, a *grave-ſtone*. *Helle* ſignifies *ſepulchrum*. It is derived from *helan*, to cover, or conceal; and therefore properly

that a ſmall brook near this kind of monument is called *the ford of the graves*[o]; that "the area underneath the quoit is "very near the dimenſions of the hu-"man body and every kind of ſarcopha-"gus of the ancients"[p]; and, laſtly, that underneath or near theſe monuments are found vaults, and human bones, and aſhes[q].

It may be obſerved, farther, that circular monuments alſo, whether open or incloſed, were often ſepulchral[r]; and that ſome of theſe circles were diſtinguiſhed by a cromlech[s], which certainly was an appendage to ſepulchres. Such monuments, according to Mr. Borlaſe[t], are found not only in Britain, and in the adjacent iſles, but in Ireland, France,

properly expreſſes *the grave*, that common covering, or concealment, of mankind. In the weſt of England, a tiler is ſtill called *hellier*, which is derived from the ſame verb as *helle*. See the Hiſtory and Antiq. of Dorſet, by the Rev. Mr. J. Hutchins, v. 1. p. 554.

[o] Borlaſe, p. 228. [p] Borlaſe, p. 228.

[q] P. 227, 229. See alſo p. 193. [r] Id. p. 209.

[s] P. 193. [t] P. 193, 225.

Germany,

Germany, Sweden, Denmark, and other countries. And Mr. Bryant[u] himſelf has proved, from Pauſanias and Strabo, what might be more fully confirmed, that the Greeks had many ſacred mounds of earth, and monuments, which they (who certainly were the moſt competent judges) regarded as the tombs of departed heroes. It is natural to ſuppoſe, that thoſe conical mounds alſo, which have been found in Egypt, in Perſia, at Troas, and other places, and are taken notice of by Mr. Bryant[w], were in like manner receptacles of the dead, notwithſtanding what has been advanced to the contrary*.

Clemens

[u] V. 1. p. 451, 465, 466.

[w] V. 1. p. 449, 461-464, 466-469.

*According to Mr. Bryant's conſtruction of *taph* and *taphos*, p. 449, *taph-Oſiris* muſt denote the hill, or high altar, of Oſiris. But, all that can be hence inferred is, that this altar, or hill, was conſecrated to Oſiris, or that he was an object of religious worſhip; which he might be, and certainly was, notwithſtanding his having been a man. Accordingly, the Greeks, who derived all their knowledge of Oſiris from the Egyptians, and without doubt adopted their idea of him, — the Greeks by *taph Oſiris* underſtood

Clemens Alexandrinus informs us, *that the places of ſepulture which the Heathens worſhipped were too numerous to be counted*[x].

underſtood the burying-place of the god Oſiris, (Plutarch's Iſ. & Oſir. p. 359.) as the gentleman himſelf allows, p. 451, 461.

He lays great ſtreſs upon the caſe of the Perſians, whom he repreſents, p. 466, 467, as adhering to the purer zabaïſm, erecting the ſame ſacred tupha as the Grecians, dedicating them to Anait, the great fountain of light, and founding a kind of temple, of a comical figure, in honour of Anait, Omanus, and Anandrates. But it has been ſhewn, that the Perſians worſhipped dead men, (ſee above, ch. 1. ſect. 1. p. 47. & ſeq. and below, ſect. 2. article 4. n° 1.) and that Anait, Omanus, and Anandrates, were nothing more than the tutelary deities of Perſia, (ſee above, p. 68–72.) As to the Perſians raiſing a temple to them, and eſpecially one that ſo much reſembled a tomb, it is rather a proof than a refutation of their humanity. It ſeems indeed to have been a kind of honorary tomb, (ſee above, p. 327 & ſeq.) and was erected to teſtify their devotion to theſe gods, to whom they aſcribed their victory over the Sacæ. Strabo, l. 11, p. 779. And, as our author admits that the Helladians and the Perſians were of the ſame family, and had many ſimilar rites, the tupha were certainly raiſed by both with the ſame view.

[x] Αλλα γαρ ειπιοντι μοι τυς προσκυνημενυς υμιν ταφυς, εμοι μεν υδ' ο πας αν αρκεση χρονος. Clem. Alexandr. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 40.

From the facts that have been ſtated we may infer the general prevalence of the worſhip of human ſpirits over the heathen world. All ſepulchres, even thoſe of private perſons, were places where divine honours were paid to the manes of the dead. Thoſe tumuli and cromlechs, which have been repreſented merely as altars, were alſo the tombs and monuments of gods, and heroes, and other great men. The monuments were probably of Celtic origin, and were carried by that numerous people into all their ſettlements[y]. Both the ſacred mounds and monuments are found in all countries. Their uſe was in all the ſame; and was ſo obvious that it could not be miſtaken.

As to the Heathens worſhipping dead men *at the veſtibule of the charnel-houſe*, which ſeems ſo incredible to a learned writer[z], the reaſon of it, which was promiſed to be aſſigned, is exceeding ob-

[y] Borlaſe, p. 225. [z] Bryant, v. 1. p. 452.

vious;

vious. Even the philoſophers[a] maintained, that the ſouls of the deceaſed preſerved an affection for their former bodies, and hovered about them, or the places where they were buried[b]. The ſame opinion formed a part of the creed of the vulgar, and entered into the religion of the ſtate[c].

[a] See Macrobius, in Som. Scip. l. 1. c. 9. p. 35. c. 13. p. 45. l. 2. c. 16. p. 125. ed. Londini, 1694. Porphyr. de Abſtinent. l. 2. §. 47. Pato ap. Origen. c. Celſ. p. 97.

[b] The wandering ſouls of thoſe who were unburied returned to the reſt of the grave after the rites of ſepulture were performed. Rite ergo reddita legitima ſepultura, redit anima ad quietem ſepulchri. Servius on Virg. Æn. III. 68.

[c] Ita plane; quemadmodùm vulgus exiſtimat, mortuorum animas circa tumulos et corporum ſuorum reliquias oberrare. Lactant. l. 2. c. 2. p. 117. The common perſuaſion was, that ghoſts were capable of feeling preſſure from the earth that covered their bodies; as appears from the cuſtom of praying that the earth might lie light or preſs heavy upon them, as the petitioners were well or ill affected towards the deceaſed. Potter's Gr. Antiq. v. 2. b. 4. c. 7. p. 243. The general practice of conſulting, ſupplicating, and appeaſing, the gods at their tombs, plainly ſuppoſes their dwelling there. —— It may be objected, that eminent

Now what could be more natural than for the Heathens, who worſhipped human ſouls, to do it in the places where they were thought to reſide? Nor did they feel the difficulty with which our author was affected: for they paid divine honours to the carcaſſes [d], the bones [e], and aſhes [f], of men deceaſed,

nent men were thought to return at death to their native ſky. The Heathens ſaw the difficulty, and attempted to ſolve it, by aſſerting, that man was compounded of three (if not more) parts; body, mind, and ſoul. The *firſt* was committed to the grave; the *ſecond* either aſcended into heaven or deſcended into the lower regions; the *third* remained near the ſepulchre. Thoſe who divided man into four parts remitted the manes to Orcus. Proofs of this point may be produced hereafter. I ſhall only here obſerve, that, when Hercules was in heaven, (Cicer. Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 16.) Ulyſſes met his εἴδωλον in the ſhades below. Odyſſ. l. xi. 600.

[d] See above, p. 165, note [x].

[e] Oſſa tibi juro per matris, et oſſa parentis.
Propertius, l. II. eleg. 20. v. 15.

[f] Virg. Æn. III. 303. cited above, p. 329, note [k]. *Cineribus hic locus ſacer* was an inſcription on a ſtone at Rome. Guther. de Jure Manium, l. 2. c. 19.

and

and even to their very coffins[g] and ſepulchres[h]; notwithſtanding their being moſt unequivocal proofs of the mortal origin of their gods.

II. The heathen TEMPLES were places of ſepulture, and deſigned as manſions for ſuch gods as had been men.

Fond as the dead were ſuppoſed to be of their tombs and the adjacent places, the Heathens ſeem to have been apprehenſive that they might occaſionally wander from them, or perhaps totally deſert them, after the diſſolution of their bodies. And therefore, the more effectually to ſecure their perpetual reſidence, or at leaſt to render it more agreeable, they raiſed, over or near their ſepulchres, houſes, or palaces, called *temples*, anſwerable to the magnificence of their former condition; and ſupplied them with every thing that could gratify their

[g] The Athenians received the coffin of Theſeus with pompous proceſſions and ſacrifices: πομπαις τε λαμπραις ἐδέξαντο καὶ θυσιαις. Plutarchi Theſeus, p. 17.

[h] Diſſert on Mir. p. 191, note [u].

deſires[j]. Theſe temples were conſidered as the proper *habitations*[k] of the gods to whom they were dedicated: a circumſtance which demonſtrates that they were not erected to the ſun, moon, ſtars, and elements; for whoſe reception and accommodation they were no way adapted. On the other hand, they correſponded entirely to the opinion entertained of deified men, who preſerved, as will be hereafter ſhewn, all their former diſpoſitions, and whoſe pride, conſequently, was highly flattered by ſumptuous

[j] See under article VI.

[k] The Heathens called their temples τας ϑλινας και τα ιδη ϑεων. Vid. Selden. de Synedr. l. 3. c. 14. They applied to them the terms οικοι & δομοι. Spencer de Leg. Heb. Rit. p. 891. Templum, inquit, hoc Martis eſt, hoc Junonis, — quid eſt aliud dicere, quam domus hæc Martis eſt, hæc Junonis? &c. Arnobius, l. 6. p. 191. Origen repreſents the heathen demons as taking up their reſidence in temples and images, either from choice or through the allurement of magical rites; and ſpeaks of the heathen temples as the places where were δαιμονες ιδρυμενοι. Origen c. Celſ. l. 3. p. 131. He is ſpeaking of deified men, whoſe ſouls the Gentiles called demons. Δαιμονας μεν τας τουτων ψυχας καλουντες. Clem. Alexandr. Strom. l. 6. p. 755.

palaces,

palaces, and all the attendance, and ſtate, and pomp, of royalty.

Accordingly the early Chriſtians, and Clemens Alexandrinus in particular, affirmed, that the buildings, which the Heathens called by the honourable name of temples, were in reality nothing elſe but the ſepulchres of dead men[l]; and that they placed their coffins in many of their temples as ſo many ſtatues of their gods[m]. Euſebius[n] entertained the ſame opinion of their temples as Clemens. Cyril[o] alſo, and St. Auſtin[p], and Prudentius[q], and other Chriſtian wri-

[l] Νεως μεν ευφημως ονομαζομενους, ταφους δε γενομενους, τυτεστι, τους ταφους νεως επικεκλημενους. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 39. ed. Potteri. See alſo p. 40, 74.

[m] Αυτικα οι εμπειροι του λογου, κατα τας ιδρυσεις εν πολλοις των ιερων, και σχεδον πασας τας θηκας των κατοιχομενων ενιδρυσαντο. Stromat. l. 6. p. 755.

[n] Præp. Ev. l. 2. c. 6. Περι του νεκρων ειναι ταφους τα καλουμενα αυτων ιερα των θεων.

[o] Cyril. Alexandr. contra Julian. l. 10. p. 342, 343.

[p] Auguſt. de Civ. Dei, l. 8. c. 26. l. 18. c. 5.

[q] Et tot templa deum Romæ, quot in urbe ſepulchra
Heroum, numerare licet. —
Prudentius ad Symmachum, l. 1.

ters, repreſent the heathen temples as places of ſepulture. Arnobius not only ſpeaks of them in the ſame view[r], but, in a paſſage produced above, tells the Gentiles, that *all the gods they had in their temples had been men*[s].

The language of the Heathens on the ſubject before us agrees with that of the ancient Chriſtians. Hermes Triſmegiſtus is repreſented as foreſeeing, that, even in Egypt, the temples of the gods would be filled with the tombs of the dead[t]. And Sanchoniathon relates, that the Egyptians, and other ancient nations, transferred, to the deified benefactors of the human race, the temples which

[r] Quid? quod multa ex his templa, quæ tholis ſunt aureis et ſublimibus elata veſtigiis, auctorum conſcriptionibus comprobatur contegere cineres atque oſſa, et functorum eſſe corporum ſepulturas. Arnob. adv. Gent. p. 193.

[s] P. 345.

[t] Hermes ipſe, — quaſi futura prænunciando, deplorans ait: Tunc terra iſta ſanctiſſima (ſc. Ægyptus) ſedes delubrorum atque templorum, ſepulchrorum erit mortuorumque pleniſſima. Ap. Auguſt. Civ. Dei, l. 8. c. 26.

had

had been erected to the elements and planets[u].

There are many facts on record which confirm the point we have been endeavouring to eſtabliſh. Temples were every where raiſed to the gods of the higher order, whom we have already proved to be mere mortals. Vulcan, whoſe own temple was at Memphis, erected ſeveral temples to his wife, who became the *dea Cypria* and the *dea Syria*[v]. The

[u] Εις το χρεων καταγαντας ναους μετασκευασαμενοι. Ap. Euſeb. Præp. Ev. l. 1. p. 32. D. ——— This paſſage and that in the preceding note imply, that temples had been erected to other gods before men were worſhipped in them. But, as the word *temple* was often uſed in a large ſenſe, for *a place conſecrated to the gods*, theſe paſſages are very reconcileable with the opinion of thoſe who think temples, properly ſo called, were, from the firſt, ſepulchral monuments.

[v] Newton's Chronology, p. 224, 225. As the Heathens erected *many temples* as well as tombs to the ſame god, and ſuppoſed him to be perſonally preſent in each, they muſt have aſcribed to human ſpirits a kind of ubiquity; in the ſame manner as the Romaniſts do in offering prayers to the ſame ſaint, in the ſame inſtant of time, in every part of the world. Such was the doctrine

The Syrians worſhipped one of their queens, and uſed her ſepulchre for a temple[x]. At Colchis there was a temple and a grove dedicated to Phrixus[y]. The bones of Proteſilaus were depoſited in a conſecrated chapel[z]. Caſtor and Pollux had temples erected to them not only at

trine of Jerome; (adverſ. Vigilantium, p. 42. ed. Pariſ. 1546.) Cùm diabolus et dæmones toto vagentur in orbe, et celeritate nimia *ubique præſentes* ſint, martyres poſt effuſionem ſanguinis ſui arca operientur inclufi, et inde exire non poterint?

[x] Juſtin. l. 36. c. 2. cited above, p. 204. The ſepulchre is generally diſtinguiſhed from the temple:

Eſt urbe egreſſis tumulus, templumque vetuſtum
Déſertæ Cereris. — Virg. Æn. II. 713.

See alſo v. 742, and below, note [z].

[y] Above, p. 120.

[z] Ib. p. 121. Numerous inſtances of perſons of high rank being buried within the precincts of temples may be found in Clem. Alexandr. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 39. Arnob. p. 193. Cyril. contr. Julian. p. 342. I ſhall only add, that Apries was buried in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors, erected in the temple of Minerva. Herodotus, l. 2. c. 169. The ſame hiſtorian ſays of Amaſis, l. 3. c. 10. Εταφη εν τησι ταφησι τησι εν τω ιρω, τας αυτος οικοδομησατο.

Sparta,

Sparta, but at Athens[a]. And Maximus Tyrius, ſpeaking of Egypt, ſays, *A god dies and is buried, and you are ſhewn in the ſame place his temple and his tomb*[b]. Laſtly, the reaſon given by Herodotus for there being no temples in Perſia, viz. that their gods had not been men[c], clearly ſhews, that it was to ſuch gods as had been men that theſe ſacred edifices were raiſed in other countries.

III. The PYRAMIDS were ſepulchral monuments and altars.

The great pyramid[d] at Babylon was well known under the name of the *temple of Belus*, (the founder of the Babylonian empire;) which ſufficiently ſhews, that it was his ſepulchral monument, and erected for his worſhip. The pyra-

[a] Theodoret (l. 8. Græcanicarum affectionum) ſays, Τυνδαριδας θεους εκαλεσαν Ελληνες, — και τεμενων ουκ εν Σπαρτη μονον, αλλα και Αθηναις, τυτους ηξιωσαν.

[b] Αποθνησκει θεος Αιγυπτιοις, και πενθειται θεος, και δεικνυται παρ' αυτοις ιερον θεου, και ταφος θεου. Maxim. Tyr. Differt. 38. p. 398. ed. Davif. Cantab. 1703.

[c] Herodot. l. 1. c. 131. cited above, p. 48.

[d] See above, p. 194.

mids

mids built by Porſena, king of Etruria, near Cluſium, and by Cæſtius, at Rome, were alſo the ſepulchres and monuments of the dead[e]. And, as theſe were imitations of thoſe in Egypt, it is natural to ſuppoſe that both had the ſame intention. But, as ſome will not allow that the Egyptian pyramids, more celebrated than any other, were places of ſepulture, I ſhall ſubmit the following obſervations to the judgement of the reader.

It was cuſtomary with the ancients to raiſe mounds of an immenſe magnitude upon the graves of their monarchs and other perſons of great diſtinction[f]. The Egyptians[g], in particular, though not very

[e] Greave's Deſcription of the Pyramids, p. 64. Univ. Hiſt. v. 1. p. 430. 8vo, 1747.

[f] The mount raiſed over Ninus was ſaid to be nine furlongs in height and ten in breadth. Cteſias ap. Diodor. Sic. l. 2. p. 120. ed. Weſſeling. The monument of Hephæſtion coſt twelve thouſand talents. Juſtin. l. 12. c. 12. See Borlaſe's Antiq. of Cornw. p. 218.

[g] Et regum cineres exſtructo monte quieſcant. Lucan. l. 8. v. 695. Concerning the wonderful ſepulchres

very curious in building their houſes, as being but temporary habitations, exceeded all imaginable magnificence in their ſepulchres, conſidering them as their *eternal manſions*[h]. They ſeem to have believed, that, as long as the body laſted, ſo long the ſoul was preſent with it. It is natural, therefore, to ſuppoſe, that their attention would be very much employed in preſerving the former from corruption, and in accommodating both with a durable habitation.

Accordingly, the moſt ancient and credible hiſtorians repreſent the pyramids as royal ſepulchres. From Herodotus we learn, that the body of Cheops[i] was depoſited under the pyramid which he himſelf had built[k]; that his ſon and

chres of the ancient kings of Egypt ſee Diodor. Sic. l. 2. p. 56, 57.

[h] Ταφους αϊδιους οικους προσαγορευουσιν. Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 60, 61.

[i] By Diodorus he is called Chemnis, l. 1. p. 72.

[k] Herodot. l. 2. c. 124–127. In this pyramid there ſtands a tomb at this day. Univerſal Hiſt. v. 1. p. 429, 438.

daughter

daughter did each of them imitate their father in building a pyramid [l], (no doubt with the ſame intention;) that Aſychis erected a pyramid of brick for his monument [m]; and that the labyrinth, near the lake Mœris, a ſtructure much more admirable even than the pyramids, contained the ſepulchres of the kings who built it, and of the holy crocodiles [n]. Strabo, ſpeaking of the top of a mountain near Memphis, ſays, that all the pyramids upon it were royal ſepulchres [o]. And Diodorus Siculus informs us, that the two pyramids, built by Chemnis and Cephres, were by them deſigned for their own ſepulchres, though both were buried in other places [p]. To theſe teſtimonies

[l] Herodot. ubi ſupra. [m] Id. ib. c. 136.

[n] Ib. c. 149.

[o] Πόλλαι μεν πυραμιδες εισι, ταφοι των βασιλεων. Strabo, l. 17, p. 1161.

[p] Των δε βασιλεων των κατασκευασαντων αυτας ἑαυτοις ταφους, συνβη μηδετερου αυτων ταις πυραμισιν ενταφηναι. Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 73. But, though it ſo fell out that neither of theſe kings was buried in the pyramid he

monies I might add thoſe of Lucan[q], Statius[r], and Clemens Alexandrinus[s]; as alſo thoſe of the Arabs, Copts, and Sabians[t]; were they wanted in ſo plain a caſe[u].

The

he erected, nevertheleſs both the edifices might be uſed as altars for their worſhip. As the aſhes of Germanicus were carried through the cities of Italy, Tacitus ſays, (Annal. l. 3. c. 2.) Etiam quorum diverſa oppida, tamen obvii, et victimas atque aras diis manibus ſtatuentes, lacrimis et conclamationibus dolorem teſtabantur, See what was obſerved above concerning honorary tombs, p. 327 & ſeq.

[q] Cum Ptolemæorum manes, ſeriemque pudendam,
Pyramides claudant, indignaque mauſolea. L. 8. v. 698. Pyramidum tumulis evulſus Amaſis. Id. l. 9. v. 155. Compare Pliny, Nat. Hiſt. l. 36. p. 738. tom. 2. ed. Harduin.

[r] Atque utinam, Fortuna, dares mihi manibus aras,
Par templis opus, aëriamque educere molem,
Cyclopum ſcopulos ultra, atque audacia ſaxa
Pyramidum, et magno tumulum prætexere luco.
Stat. Sylv. v. 3. 47.

[s] Cohort. ad Gent. p. 44. ed. Potteri.

[t] Univer. Hiſt. v. 1. p. 427, See p. 445.

[u] See Dr. Pococke's account of the pyramids, *Obſervations on Egypt*, v. 1. p. 40-67. Dr. Shaw (Travels, p. 418, 1ſt ed.) objects againſt the pyramids of *Cephrenes*

The pyramids were not only places of ſepulture, but of religious worſhip. They were commonly called the columns or altars of the gods[w]. On the top there was a platform[x], where the ſacred rites might be celebrated; and they were ſurrounded with buildings, which probably were colleges for the prieſts[y]. That the pyramids were altars is a point which cannot be diſputed; but it is no juſt inference from hence, that they were not alſo ſepulchres. For altars were conſtant appendages to the ſepulchres of ſuch

Cephrenes and *Mycerinus* being ſepulchres, becauſe "no "paſſage was left open into them as into the great py-"ramid." But the entrance into the great pyramid was at firſt *ſhut up*. Pococke, v. 1. p. 234, 240, 244. The caſe was probably the ſame as to the other two.

[w] See Kircher, (Oedipus Ægyptiacus, Syntag. iv. c. 12. p. 309, 310.) who cites ſeveral authorities to prove that the pyramids were altars, beſides that line of the poet,

Votaque pyramidum celſas ſolvuntur ad aras.

The ſteps, by which they aſcended to the top, were called by ſome βωμιδες, little altars. Herodot. l. 2. c. 125.

[x] Univ. Hiſt. ubi ſupra, p. 432.

[y] Id. ib. p. 440.

men

men as were deified, if not of all other perſons[z]. They were ſometimes placed upon the monument[a], which exactly anſwers to the caſe before us. In honour of the Grecian heroes, who fell in the defence of their country at Thermopylæ, altars were uſed inſtead of ſepulchres[b]. Nay, funeral piles were conſtructed and deemed as altars[c]. From the pyramids being altars, therefore, we may rather infer that they were alſo ſepulchres than the contrary. Now, if they were royal ſepulchres, monuments, and altars, they were certainly conſecrated to the worſhip

[z] Hence we read of the ara ſepulchri, Virg. Æn. VI. 177. and of the aræ ſepulchrales, Ovid. Metamorph. VIII. 480. See Virg. Æn. V. 47, 48. III. 305. Altars were ſometimes only a heap of green turf: Araque gramineo viridi de ceſpite fiat. Ovid. Triſt. V. 9. And ſuch altars were, it is probable, raiſed at all graves.

[a] In eo monumento ſolium porphyretici marmoris ſuperſtante Lunenſi ara. Sueton. Ner. c. 50.

[b] Βωμος δ' ο ταφος. Diodor. Sic. l. xi. p. 412. ed. Weſſeling.

[c] Pyra — quæ in modum aræ conſtrui lignis ſolebat. Servius in Virg. Æn. VI. 177.

of the Egyptian monarchs. At every common ſepulchre, prayers, ſacrifices, and libations, were offered to the dead by the ancient nations: and, amongſt the Egyptians in particular, as we have already ſeen, a temple and a tomb were erected to the ſame deity. The great height of the pyramids well agrees with the opinion of their being the ſepulchral monuments and altars of the Egyptian monarchs. High columns and pyramids, over the tombs of perſons of the greateſt diſtinction[d], correſponded to their former ſtate and dignity, and were deſigned to announce their exaltation, after death, to the rank of the celeſtial gods.

Some

[d] Servius, on Virg. Æn. XI. 489, ſays, Apud majores, nobiles, aut ſub montibus altis, aut in ipſis montibus ſepeliabantur; unde natum eſt, ut, ſuper cadavera, aut pyramides aut ingentes collocarentur columnæ. See above, p. 380, note [f]. Concerning an ara ſepulchri Virgil ſays, cœlo educere certant. Æn. VI. 178. Every one knows that high altars were raiſed to the celeſtial gods, amongſt whom we are to reckon ſuch human gods as were ſuppoſed to be advanced to heaven. Jovi, omnibuſque cœleſtibus, excelſiſſimæ, (ſc. aræ): Veſtæ,

Some writers, however, being deſirous of diſcovering, in every ſacred building and rite of the Heathens, an alluſion to elementary and ſidereal deities, have fancied, that the pyramids, reſembling (as they allege) a riſing flame, which from a broad baſe gradually leſſens and terminates in a point [e], were ſymbols of fire [f]; and hence have concluded, that they were conſecrated to the ſun [g].

Veſtæ, terræ, marique humiles, in mediis ædibus conſtituerentur. Vitruv. l. 4. c. 8. See Potter's Gr. Ant. v. I. b. ii. ch. 2. p. 178, 179. and below, p. 390, note [o].

[e] Ad ignis ſpeciem extenuatur in conum. Ammian. Marcellin. l. 22. c. 15. p. 262. Some derive *pyramid* from the Greek word *pur, fire.* Others, who more properly look for the etymology of it in the Coptic language, derive it either from *pouro, a king,* and *miſi, a generation,* (Univerſ. Hiſt. ubi ſupra, p. 425.) or from *piromis,* which, according to Herodotus, (l. 2. c. 143, 144.) denotes, in the language of Egypt, *a worthy and brave man.* Perizon. Ægypt. Orig. tom. 1. p. 447.

[f] Porphyr. ap. Euſeb. Præp. Ev. l. 3. c. 7. p. 98. D.

[g] Cones and obeliſks, it is ſaid, were dedicated to the ſun. Porphyr. ubi ſupra. Hermatiles ap. Tertullian. de ſpectaculis, c. 8. p. 76. ed. Rigalt. 1675. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. 36. c. 8. tom. 2. p. 735. ed. Harduin.

But we are told, concerning the great pyramid, (what is probably true of the reſt,) that it does not terminate in a point, as mathematical pyramids do, but in a flat, or ſquare, conſiſting of eleven large ſtones[h]. The reaſon, why they frequently made uſe of the pyramidal figure for theſe monuments, probably was it's being the moſt permanent form of ſtructure[i]. However this may be, certain it is in fact, that, though obeliſks and pyramidal pillars might be originally conſecrated to the elements[k], they were afterwards erected to ſuch gods as had been men. Jupiter Meilichius, Juno, Apollo, Bacchus, Venus, and other deities of human origin, were worſhipped under the form of obeliſks and pyramids[l]. The mere figure, therefore, of the pyramids

[h] Univ. Hiſt. p. 432. [i] Id. ib. p. 430.

[k] According to Sanchoniathon, (ap. Euſeb. Præp. Ev. l. 1. p. 35. A.) Uſous conſecrated two columns to the *wind* and *fire*. See above, note [f].

[l] Pauſanias in Corinth. p. 132, 133. Maxim. Tyr. Diſſert. 38. p. 401. ed. Daviſ. Clem. Alexandr. Stromat.

pyramids of Egypt, creates no ſort of preſumption that they were appropriated to the elements. And, even allowing them to have been intended as emblems of fire, in this view they well agree with the idea the ancients entertained of the ſouls of their deified men, as originally taken from the igneous element in the heavenly regions, and as being now returned to the celeſtial luminaries, which were imagined to conſiſt of fire[m]. But the objection we are conſidering was advanced, by ſome of the heathen philoſophers, merely to throw a veil over that ſhocking abſurdity, the worſhip of mortal gods, of which the pyramids furniſh the moſt ſtriking and laſting evidence. Not only were pyramids and temples, but,

IV. The OTHER PLACES moſt uſually conſecrated to the gods, in very an-

mat. l. 1. p. 418. Scholiaſt on the Veſpæ of Ariſtophanes, v. 870.

[m] Empedocles held πυρινα τα ασρα, (Plutarch. Placit. Philoſoph. l. 2. c. 13.) and ſo did the ancients in general. Horace calls them *igneas arces*.

tient times, were places of ſepulture, where divine hounors were paid to the dead.

This was the caſe more particularly with reſpect to the *caves*, the *houſes*, the *highways*, the *groves*, and the *mountains*, where the gods were worſhipped.

1. That, in the very early ages of the world, the Heathens paid their worſhip to the gods in *caves* and *caverns*, at the bottom of mountains and rocks, is a matter not ſubject to diſpute[n]. The queſtion here is, What gods were worſhipped in theſe places? To which I anſwer, not the gods ſtyled *ſupernal*; becauſe they were worſhipped upon high altars[o], which were not ſuited to a cave. The *infernal* gods, on the other hand, were

[n] See Bryant's Mythol. v. 1. p. 217 & ſeq. The caves, of which I here ſpeak, are not to be confounded with the hollows and fiſſures upon the tops of mountains and rocks, though the diſtinction between them has not been always attended to.

[o] Altaria ab altitudine dicta ſunt: quod antiqui diis ſuperis in ædificiis a terra exaltatis ſacra faciebant. Pompon. Feſtus. Schedius de diis German. p. 503. See above, p. 386. note [d].

worſhipped

worſhipped without any altars, or upon very low ones[p]. To theſe gods, therefore, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, caves were appropriated[q]. Before men had furniſhed themſelves with more convenient habitations, they took ſhelter in caves and dens. Theſe were their dwellings while they lived, and their graves when they died[r]. And we have ſeen, that, wherever men were buried, there they were worſhipped. Conſequently, caves being places of ſepulture, they could not but be the ſcenes where idolaters worſhipped the dead. Indeed, what other gods were likely to reſide in thoſe repoſitories of the dead but ſuch as lay buried in them?

[p] Potter's Gr. Antiq. v. 1. b. 2. c. 2. p. 178, 179.

[q] Atque ut aræ ſuperis, ita antra erant diis inferis deſtinata. Tomaſin. de Donariis veterum, c. 5.

[r] Sepulchra fuerunt olim veteribus, quæ etiam antea domos præbuerunt, ſpeluncæ. Petit. Leg. Attic. p. 595. Bos (Antiq. of Greece, ch. 23. p. 426.) has ſhewn that caves were ſepulchres.

A very learned writer[s] would perſuade us, " that the reverence paid to caves " and grottos aroſe from a notion, that " they were *a repreſentation of the world*". And it muſt be acknowledged, that this is the view given us of them by Porphyry[t], in his treatiſe upon the grotto of the Nereids deſcribed or invented by Homer[u]. But Porphyry's explication of this grotto receives no ſupport from Homer, and has been pronounced, by the moſt impartial and capable judges, *a laboured and diſtant allegory*[w]. It was, at beſt, a mere ſpeculation of the learned, remote from the conception and creed of the people: and therefore does not belong to our preſent ſubject. We are to paſs the ſame judgement on what Porphyry ſays, when he repreſents the Arcadians as

[s] Bryant, Mythol. v. 1. p. 232.

[t] Εικονα φεροντος σπηλαιυ τυ κοσμυ. De Antro Nymph, p. 254. See alſo p. 252, 262.

[u] Odyſſ. l. 13. v. 103.

[w] Pope's Homer, in the note on v. 124.

worſhipping

worſhipping the moon in caves[x]. He only gives us his own phyſical explication of (what was very different from it) the popular and civil theology. Nothing is ſo likely to prevent us from forming juſt ideas of the eſtabliſhed religion of the Heathens as not conſtantly diſtinguiſhing between that and the gloſſes of the philoſophers; many of which were invented merely to ſupport it's reputation, and were propagated with peculiar zeal after Chriſtianity had raiſed up new and powerful enemies againſt it.

It may be farther objected, that *Mithras* was worſhipped in a cave[y], though, according to Heſychius[z], Strabo[a], Suidas[b], and other writers, this Perſian deity was the ſun. But Mithras, even ſup-

[x] Porphyr. de Antro Nymph. p. 262.

[y] Porphyr. de Antro Nymphar. p. 262. Bryant's Mythol. v. 1. p. 217, 224. Kircher's Oedip. Ægypt. Syntag. 3. c. 7. p. 216. Statius, Theb. l. 1. v. 719.

[z] In voc. Μιθρας, ο ηλιος παρα Περσαις.

[a] Τιμωσι δε και ηλιον, ον καλεσι Μιθραν. Strabo, l. 15. p. 1064.

[b] Μιθραν νομιζουσιν οι Περσαι ειναι τον ηλιον. Suidas in voc.

poſing

poſing him to have been a man, might be put for the ſun, as Apollo and Oſiris were, though the former was one of the twelve greater gods, who were all natives of the earth, and the latter had been king of Egypt. It is not neceſſary to inquire here on what accounts[c] Mithras was put for the ſun, though a human ſpirit; but the idea of him here given is ſupported by the authority of Statius,

[c] Some human ſouls were ſaid to be converted into celeſtial luminaries. Differt. on Mir. p. 214. note [f]. Sometimes the preſiding demon was called by the name of the celeſtial deity from whom he derived his authority. Ib. p. 175, note [l], p. 179, note [f]. Thoſe, who conſidered human figures as ſymbols, ſpoke of thoſe ſymbols as being the gods they repreſented. According to Julius Firmicus, the Perſians repreſented *fire* under the image of a man and woman: *(Et viri et fœminæ ſimulachra ignis ſubſtantiam deputantes,* p. 11.) Why then might not they repreſent the ſun under a human figure? Thoſe, who regarded Mithras as a ſymbol of the ſun, would call him by that name, though Mithras himſelf was the immediate object of worſhip to all, and to the people the ſole object.

who

who makes Apollo, Oſiris, and Mithras, to be one and the ſame perſon[d].

That Mithras was not that aſtronomical body we call the ſun appears from the accounts given of him by the antients. The Perſians, according to Xenophon, paid their worſhip to the ſun upon the ſummits of mountains[e]: but Mithras was worſhipped in a cave, and therefore as one of the *dii inferi*. The ſun, conſidered as a natural divinity, was, by the Heathens, thought to be eternal[f]. Mithras, on the other hand, according to the fabulous theogony of the Perſians, was *born from a rock*, and from that rock begat Diorphus[g]: a plain proof of their not

[d] ——— Seu te roſeum Titana vocari
Gentis Achemeniæ ritu, ſeu præſtat Oſirin
Frugiferum, ſeu Perſei ſub rupibus antri
Indignata ſequi torquentem cornua Mitram.
Statius, Theb. I. 717.

See Lactantius, as here cited, in Veenhuſen's edition.

[e] Xenophon, l. viii. p. 233.

[f] Diodorus Siculus, cited above, p. 308, note [z].

[g] Juſtin. Martyr, cum Tryphone Dialog. p. 168. Montfauc. tom. 1. p. 368. Borlaſe, p. 145.

conſidering

conſidering him as one of the natural gods. *Myſteries*[h] were inſtituted in honour of Mithras, and *human ſacrifices*[i] were offered to him. Now both theſe circumſtances, as will be ſhewn in the ſequel, are proofs of his being regarded as a human ſpirit. Upon what ground could Tiridates ſay, *that he would worſhip Nero equally with Mithras*[k], if the latter had not been a man as well as the former? There was a king of Egypt of the name of *Meſtres*, who reigned in *Heliopolis*, or *city of the ſun*[l], and who is ſuppoſed by ſome to be the ſame with Mithras. Servius makes Mithras the ſame as the younger Belus[m]. Both

[h] Mention is made of his myſteries by Juſtin Martyr in the place referred to in the preceding note, and many other writers. See Schedius de Diis German. p. 147, note **.

[i] See Hyde, Rel. vet. Perſ. p. 112. Æl. Lampr. in Commodo. Sacra Mithriaca homicidio vero polluit.

[k] Eum perinde ac Mithram ſe adoraturum pronunciavit. Hyde, c. 4. p. 112.

[l] Pliny, Nat. Hiſt. l. 36. c. 14. p. 735. ed. Harduin.

[m] Belus minor, qui et Mithres. Servius on Æn. I. 646. The Perſians might receive his worſhip from the Aſſyrians,

Both theſe opinions ſuppoſe him to have been a man[n].

I cannot conclude this head without obſerving, that, according to Mr. Bryant[o], moſt of the temples amongſt the Perſians were caverns in rocks. Now, according to Hyde[p] and others, certain ſacred grottos, hewn out of a rock, were tombs. Le Bruyn[q] likewiſe, and Thevenot[q], conſidered them as places of burial. It is probable therefore that the Perſian temples were both temples and tombs;

Aſſyrians, as they did that of Venus Urania. Herodot. l. 1. c. 131.

[n] It may reconcile ſome to this opinion to be informed, that it was holden by ſo eminent a writer as Moſheim. He has ſupported it by a train of reaſoning different from that here uſed, to which I refer the reader. See Moſheim's Latin tranſlation of Cudworth, tom. I. p. 421, in the note, which is abridged by the learned Brucker, Hiſt. Critic. Philoſoph. tom. I. p. 169, 170. Moſheim conſidered Oromaſdes and Arimanius as being of human origin. According to Plutarch, Mithras was a *mediator*, or middle god, between them. If. & Oſir. p. 369. E.

[o] Mythol. v. 1. p. 222, 223.

[p] Rel. vet. Perſ. c. 23. Bryant, p. 222.

[q] Ap. Bryant, p. 224, 225.

and

and conſequently the gods, worſhipped in them, were departed heroes. This very much confirms what was advanced above[r], concerning the objects of worſhip in Perſia.

2. When men quitted dens and caves, and, for their better accommodation, built *houſes*, theſe became places of ſepulture, and conſequently the ſcenes of the *parentalia*, or of thoſe divine honours which the family paid to the manes of their anceſtors[s]. Every one knows that the fire-hearths were ſacred to the houſehold-gods[t], the *dii penates*, or *lares*, the founders and guardians of the family.

3. Afterwards men were buried by the ſides of *high-ways*[u]; and then we read of

[r] Ch. 1. ſect. 1. p. 47, & ſeq.

[s] Apud majores, omnes in ſuis domibus ſepeliebantur. Unde ortum eſt ut lares colerentur in domibus. Servius on Æn. VI. 152. See him alſo on V. 64.

[t] See Plutarch. Vit. Alexand. p. 696. A. Comp. Vit. Coriolan. p. 224. D.

[u] See Bos's Antiq. of Greece, ch. 23. p. 425. Pauſanias takes notice of the temples and ſepulchres on the high-ways.

of the *lares viales*, who were the ghoſts of good men[w]; of whom the traveller aſked a proſperous journey[x], and whoſe monuments were deſigned to remind him of his own mortality[y]. Theſe manes were thought to be highly pleaſed with the addreſſes of the paſſengers, which was one reaſon why the dead were buried by the high-ways[z].

4. *Groves* are frequently ſpoken of, in the hiſtory of all mankind, as places of religious worſhip. As ſuch they were uſed by the ſervants of the true God[a],

high-ways. Κατα τας οδους θεων εστιν ιερα, και ηρωων και ανδρων ταφοι. Attic. l. 1. c. 29. p. 70.

[w] Manes piorum, qui lares viales ſunt. Servius on Æn. III. 302.

[x] Invoco vos, lares viales, ut me bene juvetis.

Plautus, Merc. v. 2.

[y] Monumenta a monendo quæ ſunt in ſepulchris. Et ideo ſecundum viam, quo prætereuntes admoneant et ſe fuiſſe, et illos eſſe, mortales. Varro de Lingua Latina, l. v. Moreſtelli Pompa feralis, l. 3. c. 12. ap. Græv. tom. 12. p. 1414.

[z] See Guther de Jure Manium, l. 2. c. 13. Græv. ib. p. 1191.

[a] Gen. 13. 18. ch. 21. 23.

perhaps

perhaps on account of their ſolitude and ſolemnity, and the protection they afforded from the ſcorching heat of the ſun, which was a great recommendation of them in hot climates. The Heathens erected temples[b] and altars, and performed the ſeveral rites of idolatry, in thick woods, which ſtruck the worſhippers with awe, and gave the prieſts an opportunity of carrying on their impoſtures. The groves and trees were conſecrated to particular divinities[c], called by their names[d], and worſhipped[e] as their

[b] Groves themſelves are ſometimes ſpoken of as temples, and were perhaps the moſt antient ones.

[c] Arborum genera numinibus ſuis dicata perpetuo ſervantur. Pliny, Nat. Hiſt. l. 12. c. 1.

[d] Lucos ac nemora conſecrant, deorumque nominibus appellant ſecretum illud, quod ſola reverentia vident. Tacit. de Mor. Germ. c. 9.

[e] Sanchoniathon ſays, (ap. Euſeb. Præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 10. p. 34. B.) *They conſecrated the productions of the earth, called them gods, and worſhipped them.* Trees were addreſſed as intelligent beings, and in the very ſame ſtyle as the gods themſelves to whom they were conſecrated. Hæc ſacrata quercus, et quicquid deorum, *audiat* fœdus a vobis ruptum. Liv. l. 3. §. 25.

ſymbols

ſymbols and repreſentatives, or as having their reſpective gods belonging to them.

But the ſingle queſtion before us here is, Who the gods themſelves were whom the Heathens worſhipped in groves? Now there is ſcarce any point, in which the ancients are more generally agreed, than they are in repreſenting ſacred groves as places of ſepulture[f], dedicated to the worſhip of hero-gods. Servius aſſerts, that the groves were conſidered as the dwellings of the ſouls of heroes[g]. Cicero appeals to the Alban tombs, and groves, and altars[h]. And many inſtances

[f] Mortuorum ſepulchra erant ſub arboribus, luciſque circumſepta. La Cerda, ad Æn. VI. 763. It was a law amongſt the antient Etruſcans, *Si quis ſepulchrum proprium non habuerit, in nemoroſa ſylva ſepeliatur.* Etruſc. Fragm. l. 3. p. 176. See Gen. 35. 8. 2 Kings 23. 15, 16.

[g] Dicuntur heroum animæ lucos tenere. Servius on Æn. I. 445. Lucum nunquam ponit Virgilius ſine religione: namque in ipſis habitant manes piorum. Id. on Æn. III. 302.

[h] Vos, Albani tumuli atque luci, vos, inquam, imploro atque obteſtor, voſque, Albanorum obrutæ aræ. Orat. pro Milone, c. 31.

are on record of the dedication of woods, together with prieſts and altars, to the ſpirits of deified men and women[i]. Auguſtus conſecrated one of theſe places to the *dii manes*[k] in general.

Groves were conſidered as the *habitations*[l] of the gods, as we are expreſſly informed, and might have inferred from their being the places of their burial. But they neither were, not could be, conſidered as the habitations of the ſun, moon, and ſtars, though they were adapted to the ideas the Gentiles had formed of the terreſtrial gods. The ſhade and coolneſs of groves[m], the uncommon lof-

[i] To Anchiſes, Virg. Æn. V. 760. To Juno, I. 445. To Hector, III. 302. To Egeria, who was the wife of Numa, Ovid. Faſti, III. 262-276. See Virg. Æn. IX. 3, 4. & VII. 171.

[k] Boiſſard. Topogr. tom. I. p. 50.

[l] *Numen inert.* Ovid. Faſti, III. 295. *Habitat deus.* Virg. Æn. VIII. 352. See Æn. VI. 673. Ovid, Am. l. 3. el. I. 1. Lucan, III. 423 & ſeq. Seneca, ep. 41.

[m] Lætiſſimus umbra. Virg. Æn. I. 445.

tineſs

tineſs and beauty of the trees[n] that compoſed them, the fountains[o] within them, or the rivers[p] that ran out of them, were intended and ſuppoſed to render them an agreeable abode to the dead[q], having been the objects of their delight when living. Hence Virgil deſcribes departed heroes as ſaying[r],

——— Unſettled, we remove,
As pleaſure calls, from verdant grove to grove;
Stretch'd on the flow'ry meads, at eaſe, we lie,
And hear the ſilver rills run bubbling by. *Pitt.*

[n] The temple of Mercury had (δενδρεα υραιομηκεα) *trees that reached up to heaven*, according to Herodotus, l. 2. c. 138. The grove of Neptune had trees παντοδαπα καλλος υψος τε δαιμονιον. Platon. Critias, tom. 3. p. 117. ed. Serran.

[o] Και βωμον ποιησατ' εν αλσει δενδρηεντι,
Αγχι μαλα κρηνης καλλιρροου. Homer. Hymn. in Apoll. See Horat. Art. poet. v. 16.

[p] See Pauſanias, Corinth. p. 198.

[q] Nemora enim aptabant ſepulchris; ut in amœnitate animæ forent poſt vitam. Servius on Virg. Æn. V. 760.

[r] Nulli certa domus. Lucis habitamus opacis,
Riparumque toros, et prata recentia rivis
Incolimus. Æn. VI. 673.

5. Amongſt the places conſecrated to the heathen gods I muſt not omit to mention the ſummits of *mountains*[s], whether formed by nature or conſtructed by art[t].

It has been imagined by ſome, that theſe places were appropriated to the natural gods. But the miſtake is owing to their not diſtinguiſhing between the *natural* gods and thoſe ſtyled *celeſtial*. Under the latter are comprehended ſuch men as were thought to have aſcended into heaven, of whom Jupiter was the chief. To him every mountain was eſteemed ſacred, according to Melanthes[u].

[s] If the reader be ignorant of the antient cuſtom of worſhipping upon mountains, he may conſult Pauſanias, p. 175, 196, 197, 892. Virg. Æn. V. 760. Potter, Gr. Antiq. v. 1. p. 179. v. 2. p. 238, 239. Freytag. de ſacris Gentium Montibus. Bryant's Myth. v. 1. p. 119, 235, & ſeq. Sched. de Diis Germ. p. 502. Le Clerc and Patrick on Levit. xxvi. 30.

[t] As to artificial mounts, ſee above, p. 380, notes [f], [g], and Gibbons's Hiſtory, v. 3. p. 83.

[u] De Sacrificiis. Παν δι ορος τυ Διος ορος ονομαζεται. Potter, v. 1. p. 179. Bryant, v. 1. p. 238.

Kings

Kings and great men were buried upon mountains[w], (though ſometimes at the feet of them[x].) The places of their burial, in which they were thought to reſide, were certainly the ſcenes of their worſhip, agreeably to the conſtant cuſtom of antiquity. Accordingly we find, that ſacrifices were offered to the dead, and their ghoſts conſulted, upon mountains[y]. The reaſon aſſigned by the Gentiles, for worſhipping the gods on theſe elevated ſituations, determines who they were. Hills and mountains, they ſaid, brought men nearer to the gods, and thereby procured for them the advantage of being better heard[z]: a reaſon not at all adapted

[w] Deut. xxxii. 50. Joſh. xxiv. 30, 33. See the next note.

[x] ——— Fuit ingens monte ſub alto
Regis Dercenni terreno ex aggere buſtum.
Æn. XI. 849.

Apud majores, nobiles, aut ſub montibus altis, aut in ipſis montibus, ſepeliebantur. Servius in loc.

[y] See Spencer de Leg. Hebr. p. 382.

[z] Των ευχολεων αγχοθεν επαϊουσι, ſc. οι θεοι. Lucian. de Syr. Dea, p. 672. ed. Amſtel. This is the reaſon aſſigned

to the idea entertained of the natural gods: not of the *air* around them; neither of the *earth* nor *ſea* beneath them; nor even of the *ſun* above them, becauſe they conceived of that glorious luminary as *ſeeing and hearing all things*[a]. But, as to the gods taken from amongſt men, whom they might naturally imagine to be incapable of hearing at a great diſtance, it could not but be judged neceſſary to get as near to them as poſſible, for the ſake of being heard in their religious addreſſes. It is probably for the ſame reaſon, that the modern Italians, like the idolaters of old times, chooſe to

aſſigned for worſhipping the gods upon mountains by the Syrians. That the common opinion of the gods was the ſame with theirs appears from the following cenſure of it: Non exorandus eſt ædituus, ut nos ad aures ſimulachri, quaſi magis exaudiri poſſimus, admittat. Senec. ep. 41. p. 453, ed. Lipſii. The Getes muſt have thought their god quite out of the reach of hearing, even from the higheſt mountain; for they ſent a meſſenger to him every year to inform him of their wants. Herodot. l. 4. c. 94.

[a] Ἠέλιος θ', ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς, καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις.
Hom. Il. III. 277.

worſhip

worſhip their ſaints upon high places[b]. I ſhall only add, that the gods were ſuppoſed to be highly delighted with eminences or mountains[c]; and theſe ſituations were rendered ſtill more agreeable to them, by temples, and groves, and ſprings, and whatever elſe could gratify human ghoſts that preſerved all the diſpoſitions of their former ſtate. To ſuch ghoſts, therefore, the worſhip upon high places was directed[d].

I have now ſhewn to what gods divine honours were paid, at ſepulchres, in temples, in pyramids, in caves, in hou-

[b] Sharp's Letters from Italy, p. 305.

[c] The Grecian Jupiter is thus deſcribed:
Αυτος δ' εν κορυφησι καθεζετο κυδει γαιων. Hom. Il. VIII. 51.
The pleaſure the gods take in high places is given as the reaſon of conſtructing temples upon them in Japan. Kæmfer, Hiſtory of Japan, v. 2. b. 5. c. 3. p. 417. Bryant, v. 1. p. 238.

[d] I acknowledge, that thoſe, who thought the Perſians and others worſhipped only the natural gods, repreſent them as performing that worſhip upon mountains: but, if we allow the fact, that the Perſians worſhipped only the natural gods, they muſt, in worſhipping them upon mountains, have acted upon principles different from thoſe ſtated above. But the fact itſelf is diſputable.

ſes, by the ſide of high-ways, in groves, and upon mountains. Theſe were the places moſt uſually conſecrated to the gods in ancient times; and they in a manner include all the reſt. And, as in all the fore-mentioned places deified men and women were worſhipped, the preceding induction of particulars abundantly demonſtrates the general prevalence of that worſhip over the heathen world.

V. The STATUES and IMAGES of the gods, in human form, were repreſentations of deified men and women.

In the rude ages of antiquity, uncarved ſtones and pillars, boughs alſo and ſtumps of trees, and other pieces of wood, were conſecrated to the gods [e]; to thoſe ſtyled natural, as ſome maintain,

[e] Clem. Alexandr. Stromat. l. 1. p. 418. Maxim. Tyr. Diſſert. 38. p. 401. ed. Daviſ. Herodian. l. 5. c. 5. Tacit. Hiſt. l. 2. c. 3. Chron. Alexandr. p. 89. Schedius de Diis German. p. 505. — Clemens Alexandrinus (in Cohort. ad Gentes, p. 40.) ſays, Οι των ανθρωπων παλαιοτεροι ξυλα ιδρυοντο περιφατη, και κιονας ηγων εκ λιθων. Qui hominum erant antiquiores *ligna* erigebant

maintain [f], and certainly to thoſe who had their original from mortality [g]. But theſe things were not deſigned as reſemblances, but merely as ſigns and ſym-

erigebant inſignia, et columnas ponebant ex *lapidibus*. Many particular examples of both may be found in the places here referred to.

[f] Sanchoniathon referred to above, p. 388, note [k], is ſpeaking of the moſt antient times. Of thoſe times Maimonides alſo ſpeaks, when he ſays, Zabii erexerunt ſtellis imagines. Mor. Nevoch. pars III. c. 29. p. 423. Mede however was of opinion, that both *pillars* and *images* were, by original inſtitution, peculiar to demons, though, through ſome confuſion, they were afterwards aſcribed to other deities. Works, p. 632. The miſtake, if it was one, might be owing to their referring to the ſtars themſelves the worſhip paid to the demons, or deified human ſpirits, that were ſuppoſed to inhabit them. No miſtake will appear more natural, if you conſider how often a ſtar and it's preſiding demon, or the ultimate and immediate object of worſhip, are confounded together.

[g] Τουτων δε τελευτησαντων, τους απολειφθεντας φησι ραδιους αυτοις αφιερωσαι, και τας στηλας προσκυνησιν, και τουτοις εορτας αγειν κατ' ετος. Sanchon. ap. Euſeb. Præp. Ev. l. 1. p. 35. B. Theſe pillars, or ſtones, were ſet up at ſepulchres. Homer. Il. xi. 371. xvii. 434. Pindar. Nem. Ode x. v. 125. See alſo Pauſanias in Corinthaic. c. 29. In Achaic. c. 22. In Bœot. c. 24. See likewiſe Borlaſe's Antiq. of Cornwall, p. 186 & ſeq.

bols,

bols, of the gods. Nevertheleſs, the Greeks, univerſally, and from the moſt remote antiquity, paid the ſame divine worſhip to theſe *ſigns* as to the *ſtatues* of the gods[h].

When the arts of ſculpture and ſtatuary were invented, a human form was given to theſe ſubſtitutes of the heathen gods, that they might bear a reſemblance to the objects they repreſented. Thoſe objects, therefore, were men and women, not the elements and heavenly bodies; the form of the one no way reſembling that of the other[i]. There is the more reaſon to believe, that the images of the gods in human form were intended to repreſent human perſonages, as the cuſtom of making theſe images had

[h] Τα δε ετι παλαιοτερα και τοις πασιν Ελλησι, τιμας θεων αντι αγαλματων ειχον αργοι λιθοι. Pauſan. in Achaicis, p. 579. Concerning the worſhip of conſecrated ſtones, the reader may conſult Bp. Lowth's note on Iſ. lvii. 6.

[i] When they aimed at making ſome reſemblance of the ſun, the Pæonians repreſented him by a diſk. Maxim. Tyr. Diſſert. 38. p. 402.

it's

it's riſe in Egypt[k]; where dead men were worſhipped, firſt "in *perſon*, that is, in "their *mummies*, which, when loſt, con-"ſumed, or deſtroyed, were worſhipped "by *repreſentation*, under an image made "with it's legs bound up, in likeneſs "of the mummies[l]." The Perſians, who were ſaid to worſhip only, or principally, elementary and ſiderial deities, had no ſtatues of their gods at all; and for this very reaſon, becauſe they did not partake of human nature[m]. Nay, ſome nations, whoſe gods were dead men, worſhipped them without ſtatues[n]. And, where all the hero-gods had their images, yet there was even *there* no image of the ſun or moon, becauſe their aſpects were conſpicuous to all[o]. It is natural to conclude, from theſe premiſes, that

[k] Herodot. l. 2. c. 4.

[l] Warburton's Div. Legat. v. 2. p. 290. ed. 1755.

[m] See above, p. 47, concerning the Perſians.

[n] As the Germans, and the Romans during the time of Numa. Above, p. 40, 250.

[o] See the account given of the Syrians, p. 201.

the

the repreſentation of the gods under human figures is a proof that thoſe gods had once been men. The Fathers had very much the ſame view of this ſubject[p].

Balbus[q], indeed, ſays, "that from a "*phyſical* reaſon has proceeded a great "multitude of gods, who, being repre-"ſented in human form, have ſupplied "the poets with fables". Varro alſo was of opinion, that the images of the gods were originally intended to direct ſuch, as were acquainted with the ſecret

[p] Quid denique ipſa ſimulacra volunt, quæ aut mortuorum aut abſentium monimenta ſunt? et ſeq. Lactant. Div. Inſtitut. l. 2. c. 2. p. 116, 117. Et ideo ſimulacra conſtituunt, quæ quia ſunt mortuorum imagines, ſimilia mortuis ſunt; omni enim ſenſu carent. Id. ib. Dum reges ſuos colunt religione, dum defunctos eos deſiderant in imaginibus videre, &c. Minuc. Fel. p. 157, 158. ed. Varior. 1672. Concerning the ſentiments of Euſebius on this ſubject, ſee Div. Legat. v. 1. p. 97, 98, in the note.

[q] Ap. Cicer. Nat. Deor. l. 2. c. 24. Alia quoque ex ratione, et quidem phyſica, magna fluxit multitudo deorum: qui induti ſpecie humana fabulas poetis ſuppeditaverunt.

doctrine,

doctrine, to the contemplation of the real gods, the ſoul of the world, and it's conſtituent parts; the mind which is in the body of man bearing the neareſt reſemblance to the immortal (and univerſal) mind[r]. And Maximus Tyrius largely defends the uſe of theſe images upon the ſame ground; and pleads, that, of all others, they are the moſt proper ſymbols of the gods[s].

[r] Interpretationes phyſicas ſic Varro commendat, ut dicat antiquos ſimulachra deorum, et inſignia, ornatuſque confinxiſſe: quæ cùm oculis animadvertiſſent hi, qui adiſſent doctrinæ myſteria, poſſent animam mundi ac partes ejus, id eſt, deos veros, animo videre: quorum qui ſimulachra ſpecie hominis fecerunt, hoc videri ſequutos, quod mortalium animus, qui eſt in corpore hūmano, ſimillimus eſt immortalis animi; tanquam ſi vaſa ponerentur cauſa notandorum deorum, et in Liberi æde œnophorum ſiſteretur, quod ſignificaret vinum, per id quod continet, id quod continetur: ita per ſimulachrum, quod formam haberet humanam ſignificari animam rationalem, quòd eo velut vaſe natura iſta ſoleat contineri, cujus naturæ deum volunt eſſe, vel deos. Varro ap. Auguſt. Civ. Dei, l. 7. c. 5.

[s] Maxim. Tyr. Diſſert. 38. Plotinus alſo ſpeaks of ſtatues as deſigned to fix men's thoughts on the ſoul of the world. Ennead. IV. l. 3. c. 11. p. 380.

This

This platonic philoſopher, and alſo the two Stoics, Varro and Balbus, were zealous advocates for the phyſical explication of the fables, to which they always had recourſe when preſſed with the difficulties of their literal meaning. No wonder, then, that they ſhould repreſent images in human form as ſymbols or emblems of the natural gods. How far this was the real caſe is a matter that may come under future conſideration. It is ſufficient here to obſerve, that the images, or human figures, of which we are ſpeaking, repreſented real men and women, ſuch as were ſuppoſed to be advanced to the rank of gods and goddeſſes, and were worſhipped as ſuch: that theſe deities were the immediate objects of the eſtabliſhed worſhip, not the natural gods, to whom there could be only a remote and ultimate reference: that this reference was underſtood only by thoſe who were inſtructed in the myſteries of the heathen religion: that, conſequently, the

the common people worſhipped images, not as ſigns or emblems of the deified objects of nature, but, as what they really were, repreſentations of deified men and women: and that the civil theology was founded upon this hypotheſis, or upon the literal hiſtory of thoſe fables which the philoſophers converted into allegory. In a word, the very objection we are conſidering, inſtead of overturning, eſtabliſhes, both the humanity of the direct objects of the eſtabliſhed worſhip amongſt the Heathens, and the proof of it drawn from the repreſentation of them under human figures.

Theſe figures, as well as the human perſonages whom they repreſented, were deemed gods, and worſhipped as ſuch[t]; not, indeed, on account of the ſenſeleſs materials of which they were compoſed, but, as the Heathens alleged, of their

[t] Quis enim dubitat horum imagines conſecratas vulgus orare, et publice colere? Minuc. Fel. p. 217. ed. Var. Colitur pro Jove forma Jovis. Ovid. Ep. ex Ponto, l. 2. ep. viii. v. 62.

divine

divine inhabitants[u]. The prieſts pretended, by certain rites of conſecration, to allure or compel demons, that is, the manes of the dead, to enter into, and to animate, their ſtatues, and to detain them there[v]. And, though many images and ſtatues were erected to the ſame god, yet in each of them he was ſuppoſed to be perſonally preſent[x]. Now this idea of ſacred images, as the fixed reſidence of the gods, deſtroys the ſuppoſition of their being immediately repreſentatives of the elements or planets; and at the ſame time correſponds to, and confirms, the opinion entertained of

[u] Eos in his colimus, eoſque veneramur, quos dedicatio infert ſacra, et fabrilibus efficit inhabitare ſimulacris. Arnob. l. 6. p. 203. See Celſus ap. Origen. contr. Celſ. l. 7. p. 373.

[v] Sometimes, to prevent his deſertion, the ſtatue of the god was chained to its pedeſtal. Diodor. Sic. l. 17. p. 191. ed. Weſſeling.

[x] In ſimulacris dii habitant: ſinguline in ſingulis totis, an partiliter atque in membra diviſi? Nam neque unus deus in compluribus potis eſt uno tempore ineſſe ſimulacris, neque rurſus in partes ſectione interveniente diviſus.

them

them by the Heathens, who made them, as *bodies*, to be informed with demons, or the ſpirits of departed men, as with *ſouls*[y]. And, as the worſhip of images became almoſt the univerſal religion of the gentile world, this affords an undeniable proof of the human origin of the heathen gods, whoſe bodily features thoſe images were ſaid to repreſent*.

VI. The WORSHIP of the heathen nations correſponded to their idea of human ghoſts, and was founded upon it.

All religious worſhip among the Gentiles, and indeed among all other people, has ever been adapted to the opinion they formed of it's object. Thoſe Gentiles who, by the ſole uſe of their rational faculties, formed juſt conceptions of the ſpirituality and purity of the divine being, thought that he was beſt honoured by *a pure mind*. Such of them as regarded the luminaries of heaven, as beneficent and divine intelligences that governed the world, worſhipped them with

[y] Mede's works, p. 632. * Euſebius, ib. p. 680.

hymns and praiſes[z], in teſtimony of their gratitude; or by *kiſſing the hand*, and *bowing the head*[a] to them, in acknowledgement of their ſovereign dominion. This ſeems to have been the only homage they received from mankind in the moſt early ages of the world. At leaſt, no other is taken notice of in the book of Job, or in the writings of Moſes. When dead men were deified, it became neceſſary to frame a worſhip adapted to pleaſe and gratify human ghoſts, or rather ſuch ſpirits as they were *conceived* to be. And I will here attempt to ſhew, that the eſtabliſhed worſhip of the Heathens was built upon theſe conceptions, and that this circumſtance points out the human origin of the more immediate objects of that worſhip.

[z] Mede's Works, p. 636.

[a] *If I beheld the ſun, or the moon, — and my mouth hath kiſſed my hand.* Job xxxi. 26, 27. The Iſraelites are forbidden *to worſhip*, or, as the original word imports, *to bend* or *bow down* to, the ſun, moon, and ſtars. Deuter. iv. 19.

Before

Before we enter upon this argument, we muſt imagine ourſelves in the ſame ſituation as the ancient Heathens were, fill our minds with the ſame ideas they had, and recollect more eſpecially what were their notions of human ghoſts, and of their future ſtate of exiſtence. On the correſpondence of their worſhip to theſe notions the force of the argument depends.

The obvious diſtinction between the ſoul and body of man, and the permanence of the former after the diſſolution of the latter, could not but be admitted by all the nations that worſhipped the dead. Happy would it have been had they gone no farther, except to aſſert a future ſtate of retribution. But they gave an unbounded ſcope to their imaginations. They not only aſcribed to ſeparate ſpirits, as indeed they juſtly might, all their former mental affec-

tions[b], but all the ſenſations[c], appetites, and paſſions, of their bodily ſtate; ſuch as hunger and thirſt[d], and the propenſities founded upon the difference of ſexes[e]. Ghoſts were thought to be addicted to the ſame exerciſes and em-

[b] Of the parental affection we have an amiable example in the ghoſt of Anchiſes. Virg. Æn. VI. 685. Proofs of the hatred ghoſts bore to their enemies, both when living and after their deaths, are produced by Potter, B. 4. c. 8. p. 261. I ſhall add the following paſſage from Ovid, in Ibidem, v. 139.

——— Nec mors mihi finiet iras,
Sæva ſed in manes manibus arma dabit:
Tunc quoque cum fuero vacuas dilapſus in auras,
Exanimis manes oderit umbra tuos.

See alſo Horace, Carm. V. 5. Virg. Æn. IV. 384. and the very characteriſtic deſcription of the ghoſt of Ajax, Homer, Odyſſ. XI. 542. and of the other ghoſts in the ſame book.

[c] Hence that prayer, taken notice of above, that the earth might lie light or heavy on the dead.

[d] This appears from their being provided, as it will be ſhewn they were, with the means of gratifying theſe appetites.

[e] Hercules, though he feaſted with the immortal gods, was wedded to Hebe. Homer, Il. XI. 602. Some have thought that ghoſts could aſſume a human body.

ployments

ployments as had been their delight while men[f]. And, though they could not be felt and handled[g], like bodies of fleſh and blood, and were of a larger ſize[h]; yet they had the ſame lineaments and features. Being an original part of the human frame, they were wounded whenever the body was, and retained the impreſſion of their wounds[i].

Their idea of men's future ſtate of exiſtence was formed upon the model of our preſent condition. They lent money in this world upon bills payable in the

[f] Pars in gramineis exercent membra palæſtris, &c. Virg. Æn. VI. 642.

——— Quæ gratia currûm
Armorumque fuit vivis, quæ cura nitentis
Paſcere equos, eadem ſequitur tellure repoſtos.
Id. ib. v. 653.

Multo magis rectores quondam urbium recepti in cœlum curam regendorum hominum non relinquunt. Macrobius, in Somn. Scip. l. i. c. 9.

[g] Homer, Odyſſ. XI. 205.

[h] Et nunc magna mei ſub terras ibit imago.
Virg. Æn. IV. 654.

[i] Homer, Odyſſ. XI. 40. Virg. Æn. VI. 495.

next[k]. Between both worlds there was thought to be an open intercourſe; departed ſpirits beſtowing favours upon their ſurvivors, and receiving from them gifts and preſents. Theſe gifts were ſometimes ſuppoſed to be conveyed into the other world in their own natural form: for they put into the mouth of a dead man a piece of money, to pay Charon for his paſſage over Styx; and a cake, of which honey was the principal ingredient, to pacify the growling Cerberus[l]. Thoſe things, whoſe natural outward form was deſtroyed, did not altogether periſh, but paſſed into the other world. The ſouls of brutes ſurvived the diſſolution of their bodies; and even inanimate ſubſtances, after they were con-

[k] This is related of the Celts or Gauls. Pecunias mutuas, quæ his apud inferos redderentur, dare ſolitos. Pythagoras approved the cuſtom: for our author adds, Dicerem ſtultos, niſi idem braccati ſenſiſſent, quod palliatus Pythagoras credidit. Valerius Maximus, lib. 2. c. 6. §. 10.

[l] Bos, Gr. Antiq. p. 410.

ſumed

ſumed by fire, ſtill, in ſome degree, ſubſiſted; images flying off from them, which as exactly reſembled them as a ghoſt did the living man. Hence it was, that, upon the funeral piles of the dead, they were accuſtomed to throw letters, in order to their being read by their departed friends[m]. And being able, as they imagined, to tranſmit to the dead whatever gifts they pleaſed, in one form or other; food[n], and raiment[o], and armour[p], were either depoſited in their graves, or conſumed in the ſame fire with their own bodies, together with

[m] Diodorus Siculus, l. v. p. 352. relates this circumſtance of the Gauls.

[n] See below, under ſacrifices.

[o] Solon (according to Plutarch, vit. Solon. p. 90. C.) made a law to prevent the burying with the dead more than three garments. This law was afterwards adopted by the Romans, and inſerted in the 12 tables. Sumtum minuito; tria, ſi volet, ricinia adhibeto. The clothes of the dead were ſometimes thrown upon the funeral pile. Bos, p. 422. Kennett, Rom. Antiq. p. 357.

[p] The arms of ſoldiers were thrown upon their pyre. Bos, ch. 22. p. 422.

their wives and concubines[q], their favourite ſlaves[r], and brute animals[s], and whatever elſe had been the object of their affection in life[t].

Accordingly we find the parrot of Corinna, after his death, in elyſium[*].

[q] This is ſtill a cuſtom in ſome parts of the eaſt, and it is of great antiquity. Evadne (by Ovid called Iphias) threw herſelf upon the funeral pile of Capaneus, uttering this prayer: *Accipe me, Capaneu.* Ovid. Ars Am. l. 3. v. 21. Statius, Thebaid. l. 12. v. 801. Propertius, I. 15, 21.

[r] Servi et clientes, quos ab iis dilectos eſſe conſtabat, juſtis funeribus confectis, una cremabantur. Cæſar, B. G. l. 6. c. 18. It was the ſame both in Mexico and Peru; on the death of the emperors and other eminent perſons, many of their attendants were put to death, that they might accompany them into the other world, and ſupport their dignity. See Robertſon's Hiſt. of North America, v. 3. p. 211, 259.

[s] Cæſar, ubi ſupra. At the funeral of Patroclus, four horſes and nine favourite dogs were thrown upon the pyre. Homer, Il. 23, v. 171.

[t] Moris fuerat, ut cum his rebus homines ſepelirentur quas dilexerant vivi. Servius on Æn. X. 827. See alſo Cæſar, l. 6. c. 18.

[*] Pſittacus has inter, nemorali ſede receptus,
Convertit volucres in ſua verba pias.
Ovid, Amor. l. II, el. 6. v. 57.

Orpheus,

Orpheus, when in the ſame happy abode, appears in his ſacerdotal robe, ſtriking his lyre; and the warriors were furniſhed with their horſes, arms, and chariots, which Virgil calls *inanes*, *empty*, *airy*, and *unſubſtantial*, being ſuch ſhades and phantoms of their former chariots as the ghoſts themſelves were of men[u]. In a word, whatever was burnt or interred with the dead, their ghoſts were thought to receive and uſe. It is obſervable, that, as the ghoſts appeared with the wounds made in them before their ſeparation from the body, ſo the arms, that had been ſtained with blood before they were burnt, appeared bloody afterwards[w]; and, in like manner, the money-bills and letters, that had been conſumed in the flames, were certainly thought to retain the impreſſion of what had been written in them.

Such notions of ſeparate ſpirits can indeed for the moſt part be conſidered

[u] Virg. Æn. VI. 645-655. See above, note P.

[w] Homer, Od. XI. 41.

only

only as the childiſh conceptions of untutored minds, in the infancy of the world, or in ages of groſs ignorance. Nevertheleſs, being conſecrated to the purpoſes of ſuperſtition, and in length of time becoming venerable by their antiquity, they maintained their credit, in more enlightened ages, amongſt the multitude, and, through policy, were patronized even by thoſe who diſcerned their abſurdity.

This general view, of the notions which the heathens entertained of human ſpirits, may prepare us to receive the farther account that will be given of them, and thereby of the ground of that particular kind of worſhip that was paid them. And, if the ſame worſhip was paid to the gods as to human ſpirits, and for the ſame reaſons, it will appear highly probable, that both were of the ſame nature originally, though there was a difference of rank between them.

them. Let us now examine ſome of the principal rites of the ancient idolatry.

I ſhall begin with taking notice of the *ſacrifices* and *libations* which made a conſiderable part of the heathen worſhip. In order to underſtand the ground of theſe rites, we muſt conſider in what manner the Gentiles ſhewed their reſpect to dead men. They ſupplied them, as was obſerved, with ſuch things as had been agreeable or uſeful in life; threw upon their funeral piles odours and perfumes[x], and animals[y], and made libations of wine[z]. The daily and annual offerings, that were afterwards made them at their graves, were ſimilar with thoſe at their funerals, viz. fleſh, blood, water, wine,

[x] Bos, Gr. Antiq. Part 4. c. 22. Their tombs alſo were ſtrewed with flowers. Id. p. 432.

[y] Homer, Il. l. 23. v. 166. Odyſſ. l. 24. v. 66. Virgil, Æn. XI. 197. Herodian. l. 4. c. 14. p. 156. Oxon. 1704. Animals were ſlain at funerals partly to ſupply the ghoſts with blood, and in part to attend them in the other world. See page 424, note [s].

[z] Bos, ubi ſupra.

milk,

milk, and honey[a]. In carrying them meat and drink for their ſuſtenance the *parentalia* properly conſiſted[b]. The ghoſts were thought to come from their ſubterraneous habitations, or from their graves, to partake of the entertainment provided for them[c]. Now the libations and ſacrifices, which were offered to the gods, were of the ſame kind with thoſe

[a] Bos, p. 432, 433. Potter, v. 2. p. 257, 258. Comp. Kennett, Rom. Antiq. p. 360, 361. Guther, de Jure Man. l. 2. c. 11. And ſee Ovid, Faſti, l. 2. v. 535. and Plautus, cited above, p. 270. note [l]. Concerning the annual offerings of food and raiment, made by the Gauls to the manes of the dead, of which they were ſuppoſed to ſtand in need, ſee Borlaſe, Antiq. of Corn. p. 114.

[b] Guther de Jure Man. l. 2. c. 12.

[c] Potter, v. 2. p. 251. Kennett, Rom. Antiq. p. 361. Ovid deſcribes the common opinion in the following lines. Faſti, l. 2. v. 565.

Nunc animæ tenues, et corpora functa ſepulchris,
Errant: nunc poſito paſcitur umbra cibo.

As to the ſacrifices and libations, Lucian ſays, (in his Charon, ſive Contemplantes, v. 1. p. 358.) Verùm illis perſuaſum eſt umbras ab inferis reduces, circum nidorem et fumum, quantum poſſunt, volitando cænare, et ex fovea mulſum bibere.

appointed

appointed for the dead[d], and both had the ſame intention. The gods were regaled with the odour of incenſe, and the fruits of the earth; they were refreſhed and nouriſhed with the fumes of drink-offerings, and the ſteams of ſlaughtered animals aſcending from their altars[e]. For the convenience of their receiving the grateful and beneficial exhalations from the meat and drink offerings, the altars were placed lower than their ſtatues and images.

[d] See Bos, Part 1. c. 6. or any other writer upon the ſacrifices which the Heathens offered to their gods.

[e] That the Gentiles really thought their gods were gratified and fed by the odours, wine, blood, and fleſh, which were preſented to them either in their own natural ſtate, or when ſpiritualized, as it were, and refined, by fire, is evident from the divine warning given the Iſraelites againſt conceiving of Jehovah in the ſame unworthy manner. *Will I eat the fleſh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats?* Pſ. l. 13. The Fathers often reproach the heathen gods with their want of meat and drink, and with their intemperate uſe of both. See Arnobius, p. 229, 230, 236, 249. And not only did the vulgar Heathens ſuppoſe their gods were nouriſhed by ſacrifices; but the philoſophic Julian alſo ſeems to have adopted the ſame groſs notion, and he aſcribes it to

images[f]. The oblations here ſpoken of could not be intended for the uſe of the ſun, moon, and ſtars; and we are expreſſly told that theſe celeſtial luminaries were nouriſhed by the vapours of the ocean or of freſh water[g]. The ſuſtenance which idolaters provided for their gods was perfectly adapted to their idea of human ghoſts: which creates no ſmall preſumption that both were conſidered as having been partakers of the ſame nature.

Blood in particular was an acceptable libation to ghoſts[h], and more eſpecially

to Marcus Antoninus, as is allowed by his late panegyriſt. See Gibbon's Hiſt. v. 2. p. 363.

[f] Potter, v. 1. p. 178, 179.

[g] Cicero, Nat. Deor. l. 2. c. 15. l. 3. c. 14.

[h] Adfirmantur animæ lacte et *ſanguine* delectari. Servius on Æn. III. v. 66, 67. That the ancient Heathens thought ghoſts were fond of blood fully appears from Homer, Odyſſ. XI. paſſim. Hence the victims were ſlain at their ſepulchres. Serv. ib. The blood was poured out there upon the ground or in trenches. Pauſanias, Phocica, p. 807. To want this blood was eſteemed a great calamity. Potter, v. 2. p. 258, 259.

to

to the ghoſts of heroes[i]. There is nothing more certain than this fact, though it may ſeem ſtrange to thoſe who do not recollect that the ancients drank blood[k]; and conſequently that, on their principles, ſtated above, men muſt retain their love of it after death. It might be peculiarly agreeable to warriors, on account of the ſingular ferocity of their tempers. And it's being transferred into the worſhip of the gods[l], as every one

[i] They brought to Polydore's tomb *ſanguinis ſacri pateras*. Æn. III. 67. At the funeral of Pallas the blood was ſprinkled over the pile. Cæſo ſparſuros ſanguine flammas. Æn. XI. 82.

[k] Quinimo primis mundi ætatibus *ſanguis hominibus potus erat*, ſi fidem promeretur Avitus. Geuſius de Victimis humanis. Pars 2. p. 404. That it was a common practice to drink blood, or eat the fleſh of animals while the life, that is, the blood, was in it, is implied in the prohibition of it. Gen. ix. 4. Learned men have ſhewn, that eating raw fleſh, cut off while the creature was living, was an ancient rite of idolatry. See Maimon. More Nev. pars III. c. 48. Selden, de Jure N. & G. VII. 1.

[l] To the celeſtial or *ſupernal* gods the blood was offered upon altars (Potter, v. 1. b. 2. ch. 4. p. 203. Comp. Virg. Æn. VIII. 106.) for the ſame reaſon that it was poured upon the ground to the *infernal*, viz. in order to it's being near to the deity who was to partake of it.

knows

knows it was, naturally leads us to conſider thoſe gods as deified heroes, who ſtill, in the opinion of the Heathens, preſerved their reliſh of it, as they did of every thing elſe they had loved before.

The ſhedding of *human blood*, to appeaſe the heathen deities, is a new proof of their terreſtrial origin. The brute animals, which the Gentiles ſacrificed to their deities, were not always ſuch as were agreeable to them; they were often ſuch as were odious, and whoſe deſtruction gave them pleaſure[m]. It was the ſame as to men. Favourite ſlaves ſuffered death that they might ſerve their maſters in another life. Conquered enemies were killed with a different view, to ſatiate the malice and revenge of the manes of warriors. The refinement of modern times, owing principally to the ſpirit of mildneſs and humanity which the

[m] Ut cum Cereri porcam, Baccho capram, mactabant: quorum illa ſegeti, hæc vitibus, infeſta eſt. Potter, Comment. in Lycophronis Caſſand. v. 77.

chriſtian

chriſtian religion has diffuſed through the nations, makes it difficult for us to conceive how much cruelty entered into the compoſition of heroes in the rude and barbarous ages of antiquity. We may, perhaps, form ſome imperfect idea of it from the ſavages in North America, who rack their invention in order to put their captives in war to a lingering death in the greateſt poſſible torment; which they ſuffer amidſt the joyful acclamations of their enemies. The paſſions, which men diſcovered in life, the ancients, as we have ſeen, aſcribed to them after death; and conſequently conceived of the dead as cruel and vindictive, as envying[n] the happineſs, and delighting in the miſery, of thoſe who had offended them. Hence, I apprehend, it is that idolaters practiſed all manner of cruelties upon them-

[n] The human paſſion of envy is often aſcribed to the gods. Potter, v. 2. p. 221. Nothing could more mortify a human ghoſt, when under the influence of malice and reſentment, than the proſperity of a hated object.

ſelves and one another, in the worſhip of Diana, Bellona, and other deities, that, by the ſight of their ſufferings, theſe deities might at length be induced to pity and ſpare them. We are expreſſly informed, that the blood, which flowed from thoſe wounds which the Pagans made in their own fleſh, was thought to appeaſe the gods ghoſts[o].

It is with the ſame view that *men* were put to death[p]. The ghoſts of ſuch as were ſlain in war, or who ſlew themſelves, were ſuppoſed to be ſtimulated by the ſtrongeſt revenge[q], and could not be appeaſed but by the deſtruction of their enemies. We are certain, therefore, that human

[o] Varro dicit mulieres in exequiis et luctu ideo ſolitas ora lacerare, ut ſanguine oſtenſo inferis ſatisfaciant: quare etiam inſtitutum eſt, ut apud ſepulchra et victimæ cædantur. Apud veteres, etiam homines interficiebantur. Servius on Æn. III. 67. Quid poteſt eſſe hac pietate clementius, quàm *mortuis* humanas victimas immolare? Lactant. l. 5. c. 10.

[p] Nothing pierced Dido with ſo keen anguiſh, in the article of death, as the thought of periſhing unrevenged. *Moriemur inultæ?* Virg. Æn. IV. 659.

victims

victims perfectly correſponded to the corrupt paſſions aſcribed to the ghoſts of men.

Accordingly we find, in fact, that the manes of warriors and heroes were propitiated with human victims at their funerals. Achilles ſacrificed twelve Trojan heroes at the funeral of Patroclus, and then called upon him to rejoice, even in the gloomy realms of Pluto, at their being burnt in the ſame flames with his own corpſe[q]. Polyxena was ſlain upon the tomb of Achilles to appeaſe his ghoſt, on which ſubject the Hecuba of Euripides is founded. And Æneas, notwithſtanding compaſſion made ſo diſtinguiſhing a part of his character, reſerved ſeveral young captives to offer them as victims to the manes of Pallas[r], who was ſlain by

 Turnus.

[q] Χαιρε μοι, ω Πατροκλε, και ειν Αϊδαο δομοισι
Δωδεκα μεν Τρωων μεγαθυμων υεας εσθλους
Τους αμα σοι παντας πυρ εσθιει.

Homer. Il. XXIII, 179.

[r] ——— Sulmone creatos
Quatuor hic juvenes; totidem, quos educat Uſens,
Viventis

Turnus. He afterwards refuſed to ſpare Magus, who earneſtly begged his life, becauſe, as he alleged, the ſhade of Anchiſes demanded his death[s], even though no prior enmity had ſubſiſted between them. And the reaſon which Æneas aſſigned for killing Turnus, a proſtrate ſuppliant for mercy, was, that the ghoſt of Pallas, in revenge for his own death, required the ſacrifice of his blood[t]. If ſuch were ſuppoſed to be the temper of ſo amiable a hero as Pallas, there is reaſon to conclude, that warriors, who had been long accuſtomed to the havoc of the human ſpecies, would be thought to require a more am-

Viventis rapit, inferias quos immolet umbris,
Captivoque rogi perfundat ſanguine flammas.
Virg. Æn. X. 517.

[s] Id. ib. v. 533.

[t] ——Pallas te, hoc vulnere Pallas,
Immolat, et pœnam ſcelerato ex ſanguine ſumit.
Æn. XII. 948.

The forementioned ſacrifices are to be conſidered merely as the effect of the cruel ſuperſtition of the times, and are no reflection upon Æneas, who acted from a pious care to placate the dead.

ple

ple vengeance, and to take more ſatisfaction in the puniſhment of offenders, or even in the ſufferings of the innocent, from cruelty of diſpoſition. The combats of the gladiators were properly *funeral rites*[u], and the blood ſpilt in them was deſigned to appeaſe the manes of the dead[w]. Theſe facts are undeniable proofs that human ſacrifices were offered to deceaſed heroes, and were adapted to their preſumed diſpoſition.

The ſame cruel rite, which was celebrated at the funeral of *heroes*, was performed, ſtatedly or occaſionally, in the worſhip of the *gods*, and upon the ſame ground, a ſanguinary and revengeful

[u] Plutarch calls the combats ἐπιτάφιους ἀγῶνας. Vit. Coriolani, p. 218. F. The combatants were called *buſtuarii*, becauſe they fought at the *buſtum* or ſepulchre of the dead.

[w] The captives ſent to the funeral of Junius Brutus, inſtead of being ſlain in the uſual manner, were ordered to fight. Servius on Æn. III. 67. This method of deſtroying them had the ſame intention as the former, but was more ſuitable than that to the temper and policy of a warlike people, and ſerved to inure them to ſcenes of blood and ſlaughter.

diſpoſition. It has indeed been aſſerted, that the natural gods were the objects of this worſhip. Let us therefore ſee whether the facts on record do not prove that the direct and immediate objects of it were human ſpirits. Only I would firſt of all obſerve, that thoſe, who offered theſe coſtly victims to heroes, were not likely to withhold them from the ſame heroes when they were exalted to the rank of gods.

To whom were more human ſacrifices offered, in Phenicia, at Carthage, and other places, than to that monſter of cruelty, *Saturn*, who not only made war upon his father, and maimed him, but ſacrificed his own children to him[x]? This barbarity to his offspring is aſſigned as the reaſon why, after his death and deification, he was appeaſed with

[x] Sanchoniathon, ap. Euſeb. Præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 38, 40. l. 4. c. 16. Porphyr. de Abſtinent. l. 2. c. 56. Euſeb. de Laudibus Conſtant. p. 756. Diodor. Sic. l. 20. p. 415. tom. 2. ed. Weſſ. Marſham. Chronicus Canon. p. 76, 77.

the

the ſacrifice of children[r]. The ancient philoſophers ſearched for a phyſical interpretation of Saturn[s], and a learned modern[t] would willingly underſtand by him the *god of light*; but it has been already ſhewn, that hiſtory repreſents him under a human character. His worſhip was founded upon that hiſtory as literally underſtood by the people[u], and was adapted to his bloody diſpoſition. His ſon, *Jupiter*, who alſo was worſhipped with human blood[b], is ſtyled the only

[r] Nam Saturnus filios ſuos non expoſuit, ſed voravit. Merito ei in nonnullis Africæ partibus à parentibus infantes immolabantur. Minuc. Felix, p. 291. ed. Var. —cap. 30. p. 151. ed. Davis. Cùm propriis filiis Saturnus non pepercit, extraneis ubique non parcendo perſeverabat, et ſeq. Tertullian. Apol. c. 8. p. 9. ed. Rigalt. Bryant, Obſervations, p. 279, 280.

[s] Cicero, Nat. Deor. l. 2. c. 24.

[t] Bryant's Obſerv. p. 280.

[u] Tertullian. Apol. p. 9. Minuc. Felix, c. 30. and the notes of Davis, p. 153. Lactant. l. 1. c. 21. An infant was ſlain upon the altar of Jupiter Lycæus. Pauſanias, Arcad. l. 2. p. 600. Jupiter Latialis alſo was worſhipped with human blood. Lactant. l. 1. c. 21.

ſon and heir of his father in cruelty[c]. *Oſiris*, called alſo Buſiris, was, like Jupiter, a great conqueror, in an age when conqueſt and cruelty were cloſely allied; and to him ſtrangers were ſacrificed at his tomb[d]. *Bacchus* was worſhipped with the cruel rite of which we are ſpeaking under the title of Omeſtes, *the devourer*[e]. Captives in war were devoted to death in honour of *Mars*[f], who, according to Orpheus, *was always contaminated with ſlaughter, and always delighted*

[c] O Jovem ——ſolum patris filium de crudelitate! Tertullian. ubi ſupra.

[d] Ægyptio Buſiridi ritus fuit hoſpites immolare. Minuc. Fel. c. 30. Compare what Plutarch ſays concerning burning live men in Egypt. De Iſ. et Oſir. p. 380. Men with light or red hair were ſacrificed at the tomb of Oſiris. Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 99.

[e] Plutarch, Vit. Themiſt. p. 119. A.

[f] Herodot. l. 4. c. 62. Cæſar, Comment. l. 6. c. 16. See alſo Tomaſinus de donariis veterum, c. 40. and Tacitus, Annal. l. 13. c. 57.

with

with human blood [g]. And *Diana* [h], who was void of all the tenderneſs of her ſex, whoſe chief pleaſure conſiſted in the purſuit and ſlaughter of brute animals, and to whom the ſhows of wild beaſts, fighting with one another or with men, were conſecrated, had her altars ſtained in the ſame manner as the god of war. This goddeſs, as well as Mars and Jupiter, belonged to the claſs of the twelve greater divinities who were tranſlated from earth to heaven. To *Juno*, who alſo was one of that number, an oracle recommended the ſacrifice of a virgin annually, in order to ſtop a peſtilence [i] which doubtleſs it was thought ſhe had ſent.

To the foregoing examples more may be added. I muſt not omit to mention

[g] ——— Φοινοις πεπαλαγμενος αιεν,
Αιματι ανδροφονω χαιρων.
Orpheus, Oper. p. 264. ed. Geſner.

[h] Virg. Æn. II. 116. Servius in loc. Lactant. l. 1. c. 2. See note [e], below; and Hyginus, Fab. 261.

[i] Plutarch, Parallel. p. 314. C. D.

Hercules,

Hercules[k], who having through life made havoc of the human ſpecies, it was preſumed he would be pleaſed, after death, with ſeeing human victims bleeding or burning upon his altars. *Iphigenia*[l] could not but reſent her undergoing a violent death to propitiate Diana; and therefore might well be ſuppoſed to receive ſatisfaction from having her own ghoſt atoned in the ſame manner. The northern *Thur*[m], or *Thor*, (the ſame, probably, with Taranis,) *Teutates*, (or Mercury[n],) and *Heſus*[o], (ſuppoſed by ſome to be Mars himſelf,) had probably deluged the earth with human blood before it was offered to them in ſacrifice.

[k] Pliny, l. 36. c. 5. Marſham, p. 288, 289.

[l] Virg. Æn. II. 116. Herodot. l. 4. c. 103.

[m] To Thur ſanguinem mactabant hominum. Hiſtoriæ Normandorum ſcriptores antiqui. Paris, 1619. p. 62.

[n] Tertullian. Apol. c. 9.

[o] Et quibus immitis placatur ſanguine diro
Theutates, horrenſque feris altaribus Heſus,
Et Taranis Scythicæ non mitior ara Dianæ.
Lucan. l. 1. v. 44.

This

This liſt might have been ſwelled with the names of *Mithras*[p] and other gods; but I ſhall only obſerve, that the aſtoniſhing cruelty of *Froe* and *Roſtatus* is expreſſly aſſigned as the reaſon of their being propitiated with human victims[q].

From the whole of what has been offered, with reſpect to theſe victims, it appears, that the ground of offering them was the cruel and revengeful diſpoſition of the objects of them[r]: that they correſponded

[p] Mithras was worſhipped in Egypt as well as in Perſia; and Socrates relates, that, in the temple at Alexandria, in which his myſteries were celebrated, the Gentiles ἀνθρωπους κατεθυον, *ſacrificed men.* Hiſtor. Eccleſ. l. 3. c. 2. p. 173. It is to this author that the reference ſhould have been made above, p. 396. note [l], rather than to Ælius Lampridius.

[q] Concerning Froe, Olaus Magnus ſays, l. 3, c. 4. p. 101. Cui tandem in numerum deorum relato, quia deus ſanguinis haberetur, furvæ hoſtiæ immolabantur. The ſame writer gives the following account of Roſtatus: Cujus ſtupenda immanitas humani ſanguinis ſacrificio ita placari voluit, ut ſibi illorum, quos cultores ſui oppreſſuri eſſent, animas dedicarent.

[r] This is confirmed by the teſtimony of Sanchoniathon, who ſays, that, in great national calamities, it was

correſponded entirely to the ſuppoſed character of the ghoſts of warriors and heroes,

was cuſtomary to ſacrifice the deareſt children of the nobles τοις τιμωροις δαιμοσι. Ap. Euſeb. Præp. Ev. I. 4. p. 156. D. The *evil* deities were diſtinguiſhed from the *good* by a different worſhip; according to Labeo, ap. Auguſt. Civ. Dei, l. 2. c. 2. Numina bona a numinibus malis *iſta* etiam *cultus diverſitate* diſtinguuntur, ut malos deos propitiari cædibus et triſtibus ſupplicationibus aſſerat: bonos autem obſequiis lætis atque jucundis. In the Diſſertation on Miracles, p. 249. it was ſaid, what, I preſume, has been fully proved, "that "the gods, worſhipped by human ſacrifices, were the "great warriors who, in their mortal ſtate, delighted "in the ſlaughter of the human race." To this it has been objected, by Mr. Fell, p. 66. that *there is not one inſtance to be found on record, of men raiſed to divine honours, by any people, becauſe of their paſt delight in the ſlaughter of their own ſpecies; and YET this is here* (that is, in the Diſſertation) *aſſigned to be the very reaſon why thoſe gods* (the idols of Canaan) *were worſhipped with human ſacrifices.*

It clearly appears, from this language, that the gentleman did not perceive the obvious difference there is between the reaſon of raiſing men to divine honours, that is, (as I underſtand him,) of deifying them, and honouring them with ſome kind of divine worſhip; and the reaſon of worſhipping them, when deified, with one ſpecies of divine worſhip rather than another. Each god was honoured with peculiar ceremonies. Hence Plutarch conjectures, that Matuta was the ſame with Leucothea, from the ſameneſs of their rites. Vid. Camill.

heroes, and of hero-gods: that they were in fact offered both to heroes and to ſuch gods as had been men, and, as

mill. p. 131. B. The ſacrifices that were offered to different gods were different, (as we have juſt now ſeen from Labeo, and Euſebius has ſhewn at large, [Præp. Ev. l. 4. c. 9.] and indeed as every one muſt know who is not a perfect ſtranger to the ſubject,) agreeably to the difference of their reſpective diſpoſitions. The domeſtic and friendly gods ghoſts were gratified with wine, milk, and frankincenſe, (Ovid, Faſti, l. ii. 533-540.) though the indignant and revengeful ſpirit of a warrior could not be appeaſed without human blood. Revenge and cruelty, however, were not the reaſon of his being raiſed to divine honours, or of his being accounted a god; nor did my language imply more than their being the reaſon of that *peculiar kind* of worſhip which was paid him by thoſe who were previouſly perſuaded of his divinity. My reaſoning, in the place referred to, was agreeable to that of the ancients, who, when doubtful who any particular god was, formed their judgement of him by the nature of his worſhip. ——— If the gentleman meant to ſay, what alone could render his objection pertinent, that there is not one inſtance on record of men being worſhipped with human ſacrifices for the reaſon I had aſſigned, he ſhould have had a better acquaintance with antiquity before he ventured on ſuch an aſſertion.

far

far as we know, to ſuch gods alone[s]. So that, when the only circumſtance, related of any particular deity, is, that he was worſhipped with human ſacrifices, we may reaſonably conclude, that he was originally of the race of man. And, as theſe rites were univerſally[t]

[s] It has indeed been ſaid, by ſome of the ancients, that human victims were in Egypt offered to the ſun. It was very natural for thoſe to run into this miſtake who explained the hiſtory of the gods phyſically. Human victims, we have ſeen, were offered to Oſiris; and Oſiris, phyſically underſtood, was the ſun. Some of the ancients would the more readily ſubſtitute the one for the other, as, in their opinion, there was a real correſpondence between the diſpoſitions of heroes and the qualities of the ſun. But I queſtion whether there were any, however fond they might be of applying the hiſtory of the gods to natural objects, who would not allow, that human ſacrifices were directly and immediately offered only to hero-gods.

[t] This is affirmed by Pliny, l. 30. c. 1. cited above; and has been proved to be true by many learned writers, ancient as well as modern: ſuch as Porphyry, de Abſtinent. l. 2. Clemens Alexandrinus, Cohort. ad Gent. p. 36. ed. Potter. Euſebius, Præp. Ev. l. 4. c. 16. Geuſius, de Victimis humanis, paſſim; and Mr. Bryant, in his Obſervations, p. 267. et ſeq.

practiſed

practiſed in all the heathen nations, they afford a full proof of the univerſal prevalence of the worſhip of human ſpirits. Many of the gods here enumerated were the principal objects of pagan devotion[s].

There were other[w] rites of worſhip, beſides thoſe hitherto ſpecified, which clearly

[s] When Meſſapus gave a mortal wound to king Auleſtes, he exclaimed: *Hæc* magnis *melior data victima divis.* Æn. XII. 296.

[w] The heathen religion was as remarkably diſtinguiſhed by it's licentiouſneſs and pollution as by it's cruelty. Drunkenneſs was an eſſential part of the worſhip of Bacchus, and enjoined by law even at Athens. Plato de Legibus, l. 1. p. 570 ed. Ficini, & p. 777 ed. Serrani. It generally accompanied the ſacrifices and ſolemnities of the other gods. Proſtitution was a religious rite common to all nations; and not owing, in general, to a proffigacy of character, but to a real perſuaſion of it's being an acceptable ſacrifice to the gods. Even ſodomy, and beſtiality, and other enormities, made a part of the pagan ritual, in Phenicia more eſpecially. It would draw out the article of *worſhip* to too great a length, to produce the evidence of theſe facts in this place, and to ſhew from what principles they proceeded, which may be explained hereafter. It is ſufficient to obſerve, at preſent, that the vices here ſpecified are peculiar to the human ſpecies, and were in fact practiſed

clearly point out the mortal origin of the gods. I ſhall take notice of three: *mournings*, *banquets*, and *games*.

Mournings, and all the ſigns of the moſt extravagant grief, ſuch as lamentable cries and bodily lacerations, were the moſt ſacred ceremonies of pagan worſhip[x]. Now theſe rites of idolatry

practiſed in the worſhip of ſuch gods as had once belonged to it. They were practiſed in imitation, as well as in honour, of the gods. The rude heroes of antiquity, whatever ſervice they might do their country by their proweſs, or to mankind in general by their uſeful inventions, laid no reſtraint upon their paſſions; and, as they were believed to have more of divinity in them than other men, their vices were conſecrated as well as their perſons. When they were exalted into gods, they were thought to retain the ſame diſpoſitions. The early Chriſtians reproach them with every ſpecies of impurity; and ſo do the Heathens themſelves, many of whom were ever ready to plead their examples as an excuſe for all the vices that the baſeſt and vileſt of men could commit.

[x] In adytis habent idolum Oſiridis ſepultum: hoc annuis luctibus plangunt, radunt capita, ut miſerum caſum regis ſui turpitudine dehoneſtati defleant capitis; tundunt pectus, lacerant lacertos, veterum vulnerum reſecant cicatrices, ut annuis luctibus in animis eorum funeſtæ ac miſerandæ necis exitium renaſcatur. Julius Firmicus, p. 4, 5. See alſo Spencer, Leg. Hebr. p. 574, 580.

were

were the very ſame with thoſe practiſed at funerals. It was cuſtomary with the Heathens, at the death of their relations, to make the moſt mournful lamentations, to rend their clothes, to cut, lance, and tear, their fleſh [y]. Theſe doleful cries and cruel lacerations were carried to ſuch exceſs at Athens, a city greatly addicted to ſuperſtition and idolatry, that it became neceſſary to prohibit them by law [z]. They are not to be conſidered merely as expreſſions of grief for the perſonal loſs which ſurvivors ſuſtained by the death of valuable relations; they were principally deſigned for the benefit of the dead themſelves; a matter that requires to be explained.

[y] See Bos, Antiq. of Greece, p[t] 4. ch. 21. Levit. xix. 28. xxi. 5. Deut. xiv. 1. Jerem. xvi. 6. xlviii. 37.

[z] Mulieres genas ne radunto, neve leſſum funeris ergo habento. Petit, Leg. Attic. p. 600. *Ye ſhall not make any cuttings in your fleſh for the dead.* Levit. xix. 28. xxi. 5. Theſe cuttings are here forbidden as rites of idolatry.

The ſoul of man, it was imagined, quitted the body *mourning it's unhappy fate*[a], partly on account of the enjoyments it loſt, and partly by reaſon of it's entrance into *Aïdes*, or *Hades*, a moſt gloomy and uncomfortable region, in the general opinion of the ancient Heathens[b]. Beſides ſorrow and regret, the dead, at going out of the world, were ſuppoſed to feel diſpleaſure and reſentment, and in many caſes to pant after revenge[c]. It was to this ſtate of their minds that the mourning for them was adapted. The extraordinary grief and ſympathy of their relations at their funerals might well be thought to ſoothe and conſole them in ſome degree under their hard lot; and, together with their

[a] Οἰ πόλμον γοοωσα. Homer. Il. XVI. 857.

[b] Homer repreſents all the ghoſts in the ſubterraneous caverns as *ſorrowful*, ιϛασαν αχνυμεναι. Odyſſ. XI. 541. Even Achilles ſaid, he had rather be the meaneſt ſlave upon earth than rule over all the departed. Homer, Odyſſ. XI. 488.

[c] As was ſhewn above, p. 432. et ſeq.

wounds,

wounds, and the blood that iſſued from them, were believed, as we have ſeen[d], to appeaſe their rage and vengeance. The tranquillity of their minds being thus reſtored, there was no evil or injury to be dreaded from them on account of their having ſuffered the loſs of their lives. With the neglect of the uſual ſigns and ſeaſons of mourning they were ſuppoſed to be greatly offended[e].

Now let common ſenſe determine, whether theſe funeral rites could be deſigned to honour or placate gods that are eternal and immortal, and can never taſte the bitterneſs of death? But we need not aſk the queſtion; for the Heathens themſelves have told us, that mourning was a ſpecies of worſhip ſuit-

[d] Above, p. 434. note [o].

[e] This is implied in the following paſſage of Apuleius, Metamorph. l. 8. p. 242. ed. Delph. Quæ res cùm meum pudorem, tùm etiam tuum ſalutare commodum, reſpicit: ne fortè immaturitate nuptiarum, indignatione juſtâ manes acerbos mariti ad exitium ſalutis tuæ ſuſcitemus.

able to the dead[f], and actually paid to ſuch of them as were deified. *A god dies, and is lamented*[g]. The ancient advocates for this part of the pagan worſhip diſcovered, or pretended to diſcover, a ſecret reference in it to natural objects[h]. But this ſecondary and myſtical ſenſe, if it was at all intended, was not underſtood by the people, nor deſigned to be ſo; and, inſtead of ſubverting, it rather preſuppoſes, the literal and primary meaning of the rites in queſtion. Plutarch, the great advocate for their phyſical interpretation, allows their being underſtood

[f] Quorum omnis cultus eſſet futurus in luctu. Cicero, de Nat. Deor. l. 1. c. 15.

[g] Maxim. Tyr. Diſſert. 38. p. 398. See Julius Firmicus, p. 4, 5.

[h] Sed in funeribus et luctibus, quæ vere ſunt funera, quæ facta ſunt ——— defenſores eorum volunt addere phyſicam rationem. Julius Firmicus de Errore Prof. Relig. p. 5. In the ſequel he explains this phyſical reaſon, but it does not belong to this place. See Plutarch in the places referred to in the next note.

of

of the births and deaths of the gods[i]. Accordingly we find the Heathens[k], as well as the early Chriſtians[l], urging them as a proof that thoſe gods had been mere mortals.

The mourning, in the feſtivals of the gods, was ſucceeded by *a banquet*, in which the gods themſelves were ſuppoſed to ſhare[m]. This circumſtance alſo

 agrees

[i] Θεων γενεσεις και φθορας ὁ προσαγορευοντες μονον, αλλα και νομιζοντες. Plutarch. Iſ. & Oſir. p. 379. B. See alſo a little higher in the ſame page, and comp. p. 359.

[k] Tu *plangens* hominem teſtaris Oſirin. Lucan, VIII. 833.

[l] Lugete *mortuos* veſtros, et ſeq. Julius Firmicus, p. 20. See p. 4, 5.

[m] Notwithſtanding their nectar and ambroſia, the gods retained their reliſh of their former earthly viands. They all left heaven for the ſake of feaſting with the Æthiopians, Jupiter himſelf leading the way, as we learn from Homer. Indeed they were invited as gueſts to all entertainments, beſides thoſe made on purpoſe for them.

——— Et divos ipſumque vocamus
In partem prædamque Jovem. Æn. III. 222.

The *epulones*, whoſe buſineſs it was to prepare the ſacred banquets at the ſolemn games, and to ſet up couches on which the gods lay at tables, were perſons of great diſtinction.

agrees with the idea the ancients entertained of human ſpirits, whom they not only ſtatedly ſupplied with food, by daily ſacrifices, but for whom they alſo provided annually a magnificent feaſt[n]. Beſides, the banquet, which ſucceeded the ſolemn mourning in the worſhip of the gods, was a funeral rite: for after the obſequies there was an entertainment, part of which was conſecrated to the manes of the deceaſed, and carried to their tombs[o].

Games were inſtituted only in honour of the gods; and they alſo were funeral rites, which were exhibited to almoſt all the dead[p]. Hence it follows, that the dead

tinction. See Guther de Jure Manium, l. 2. c. 10. The beſt meal put the gods into the beſt humour to grant favours, and was called *a ſupplication*. Witneſs the lectiſternium.

[n] See above, p. 427, 428.

[o] Bos, p. 431.

[p] Omitto quod Varro dicit, omnes ab his mortuos exiſtimari manes deos, et probat per ea ſacra, quæ omnibus ferè exhibentur mortuis, ubi et ludos commemorat funebres,

dead in general were conſidered as gods, and were the ſole objects of this ſpecies of worſhip.

If, excluſive of all teſtimony, we examine the games themſelves, we ſhall ſoon perceive, that, whatever natural inſtruction might be veiled under them, they were celebrated in honour of deified men. They were imitations, or ſcenical repreſentations, of the actions, the ſufferings, and lawleſs paſſions[q], of the gods, and indeed of their whole hiſtory. It is of men alone that theſe ſcenes could be juſt repreſentations. It is to their ghoſts only that they could be judged acceptable, as memorials of their former condition. Theſe exhibitions were attended with all poſſible magnificence, in order to gratify their pride and vanity.

funebres, tanquam hoc ſit maximum divinitatis indicium, quòd non ſoleant ludi niſi numinibus celebrari. Auguſt. Civ. Dei, l. 8. c. 26.

[q] See Cyprian on this ſubject, Ad Donatum, p. 5, 6. ed. Fell.

If you ſtill doubt whether the games referred to the actions and events of human beings, remember that, in the worſhip of Matuta, *the mother*, there was a repreſentation of whatever befel Bacchus's nurſe, and whatever Ino ſuffered from the jealouſy of Juno[r]: and that, amongſt other ceremonies in the worſhip of Ariadne, who died in child-bed, and to whom Theſeus ordered divine honours, a youth lay in bed, and counterfeited all the pains of a woman in travail[s]. In the feaſt of Adonis, beſides repreſenting funeral ſolemnities by lamentations and mournful ſongs, they even expoſed images reſembling dead men carried out to their burial[t]; This feſtival was celebrated throughout all Greece and Egypt; all the cities putting themſelves in mourning, which was de-

[r] Plutarch. Vit. Camilli, p. 131. B.

[s] Plutarchi Theſeus, p. 9. B. C.

[t] Plutarch. Vit. Alcibiad. p. 200. C. p. 532. B. See alſo Spencer, Leg. Heb. p. 575, 580, 581. Diodor. Sic. p. 24, 25. ed Weſſ. Lucian. tom. 2. p. 658, 659.

ſigned

ſigned to commemorate the death of Adonis, and in teſtimony of their ſympathy with Venus. Oſiris alſo being ſlain as Adonis was, the memory of his death was preſerved by expoſing a ſimilar image[u] of him in his feſtival, as well as by other rites of burial.

On the whole, though it is not affirmed, that the religious rites here ſpecified had no manner of reference to the ſyſtem of nature, yet they certainly correſponded to the idea the ancients had formed of human ghoſts, were of the ſame kind with thoſe which were paid to theſe ghoſts, and even, in many caſes, were memorials and repreſentations of the ſufferings and death of the deities in whoſe honour they were performed. This is a plain proof that theſe gods had been men, and even that they were worſhipped under the very idea of men that were dead.

[u] See Julius Firmicus, p. 4, 5. cited above, p. 448. note [x].

In

In ſpeaking of the heathen worſhip, I cannot omit to make mention of the *myſteries*. In the celebration of theſe rites an explicit declaration was made of the mortal origin even of the principal objects of national worſhip among the Gentiles; as we learn from the teſtimonies both of heathen and chriſtian writers[w]. The very learned *Jablonſki* does not controvert the fact, viz. that the humanity of the gods was aſſerted in the myſteries; but he ſuppoſes, that this was aſſerted by the magiſtrate, contrary to his own private opinion, for the credit of religion[x]. This conjecture is not only groundleſs, but improbable, being

[w] Cicero, Tuſcul. l. 1. c. 13. et de Nat. Deor. l. 1. c. 42. Diodorus Siculus, l. 1. p. 24. ed. Weſſ. Auguſtin. De Civ. Dei, l. 8. c. 5. Cyprian. De Idol. Van. p. 12.——Theſe authors have been already cited. I add the following paſſage from Julius Firmicus, p. 13. Sed adhuc ſuperſunt aliæ ſuperſtitiones, quarum ſecreta pandenda ſunt, Liberi et Liberæ, quæ omnia ſacris ſenſibus veſtris ſpecialiter intimanda ſunt, ut et in iſtis profanis religionibus ſciatis mortes eſſe hominum conſecratas.

[x] Jablonſki, Pantheon Ægyptiorum, tom. 2. Prolegom. p. xxvii.

inconſiſtent

inconſiſtent with all that we know of the conduct of magiſtrates and of thoſe who wiſhed to ſupport the religion of the ſtate. The magiſtrate, whoſe buſineſs it was to protect it, always acted in union with the prieſt; and indeed both offices, though diſtinct, were very often united in the ſame perſon, who did not oppoſe in one capacity what he taught in another. Beſides, thoſe who moſt conſulted the credit of the public religion prudently diſcouraged all enquiry concerning the origin of the greater gods, and, inſtead of divulging, ſtrove to conceal, their humanity, either by inſinuating at times that they were originally beings of a higher rank than mankind, or (what was more commonly the caſe) by applying their hiſtory to elementary and mundane deities.

The following appears to me to be the true ſtate of the caſe. The firſt objects of idolatrous worſhip were the elements and heavenly bodies. When the worſhip of deified men was ſuperinduced upon that of the planets and elements, much

much confuſion was introduced into the heathen theology, and the original doctrine concerning the gods was in danger of being loſt. To prevent this, the myſteries were inſtituted, and the true grounds of the pagan worſhip were probably explained to ſuch as were judged capable and worthy of ſuch information. This could not be done without admitting that the popular or national gods had been removed from earth to heaven[y]. And this conceſſion, which is all that belongs to our preſent ſubject, is a very ſtrong confirmation of the point I have been attempting to eſtabliſh. It muſt be obſerved farther, that, although the myſteries were the moſt ſacred of all the heathen rites, they were inſtituted only in honour of gods of mortal origin, ſuch as Jupiter, Oſiris, Iſis, Mithras, Bacchus, Venus, Ceres, Proſerpine, Vulcan,

y "In the repreſentations of the myſteries," ſays Plutarch, "the *true nature of demons* is held forth." See Warburton's Div. Legat. v. 1. p. 162. ed. 1755.

Caſtor

Caſtor and Pollux, and others known to be of human deſcent.

VII. The heathen *divinations* and *oracles* were thought to proceed from demons or the manes of the dead.

It has indeed been aſſerted, that thoſe ſuppoſed to be prophets *were all titles which related to one god, the ſun*[z]: an aſſertion which has the appearance of being ſupported by etymological conjectures, but which is contradicted by indiſputable facts. I ſhall ſtate the ſubject in what appears to me to be it's true light. Several philoſphers did aſcribe oracles in ſome meaſure to natural cauſes, and particularly to certain prophetic exhalations from the earth, which owed their virtue to a ſolar influence[a]. But this was merely the private opinion of a few learned men, to which the people

[z] Bryant's Mythol. v. 1. p. 253. ſee from p. 239-282. and p. 445. The gentleman's hypotheſis is irreconcileable with the ſacred writings. See If. viii. 19.

[a] This is ſhewn in Diſſert. on Mir. p. 259. note [p].

were

were ſtrangers. Nay, theſe philoſophers themſelves allowed, that demons might be appointed to preſide over divinations and oracles[b]; and that the ſoul itſelf is naturally endued with the faculty of divining*.

The common perſuaſion was, that departed ſpirits had an oracular or prophetical quality. This clearly appears from thoſe divinations by the dead, and by ghoſts, called *necromancy* and *necuomancy*[c], ſo univerſally prevalent in the heathen world. Oracles, therefore, were certainly referred to dead men; to ſuch eſpecially as had, when living, diſcovered a ſuperior ſagacity, or a greater inſight into futurity, than [d]others. Di-

[b] Diſſert. ubi ſupra, & p. 175.

* Id. p. 259. note P.

[c] Plutarch ſpeaks of a νεκυομαντειον, an oracle of ghoſts, where they were raiſed up to foretel future events. Vit. Cimon. p. 482. C. See the account which Maximus Tyrius (Diſſert. 26. p. 265. ed. Daviſ.) has given of a cave near the lake Aornon, where, by prayers, ſacrifices, and libations, a prophetic ghoſt was raiſed up.

[d] See Pauſanias, Attica, p. 83, 84.

vination

vination by the evocation of the dead was practiſed in the moſt ancient times. In the Perſæ of Æſchylus, the ghoſt of Darius is called up, and foretels his queen her deſtiny. According to Homer *, Ulyſſes invoked the dead, and deſcended into the infernal regions, that he might learn his future fortunes from the prophet Tireſias. With the ſame view Æneas conſulted Anchiſes. Saul alſo applied to a ventriloquiſt to call up Samuel: a practice that was as early as the age of Moſes *. Now will any one affirm, that Darius, Tireſias, Anchiſes, and Samuel, or any of the dead whom ventriloquiſts pretended to conſult, were *titles of the ſun?*

Two conſiderations ſerve to ſhew that all oracles were referred to human ghoſts: the known characters of the gods who had oracles, and the places where they were ſet up. As to the gods themſelves here referred to, they were

* Odyſſ. XI. * Levit. xx. 6.

known

known to be human perſonages. Such was Ammon, ſpoken of above, who had an oracle both at Thebes in Egypt, and in Libya[g]; Apollo alſo, whoſe oracle at Delphi was ſo much celebrated, was one of twelve greater gods whoſe mortal origin was diſcloſed in the myſteries. Themis, a Pelaſgic deity[h], and one of the Titanidæ[i], had an oracle at mount Parnaſſus[k]; Trophonius near the city of Lebadia[l]; Amphiaraus[m] in Pœotia, or in Attica[n]; Branchides in Mileſia[o]; the daughter of Macarus at

[g] See Diodor. Sic. l. 3. p. 241, 242. ed Weſſ. Herodot. l. 2. c. 54, 55, 56.

[h] Herodot. l. 2. c. 50.

[i] Diodor. Sic. l. v. p. 383. Apollodorus de Diis, l. 1. init.

[k] Herodot. ubi ſupra.

[l] Liv. xxv. 27. Maxim. Tyr. Differt. 26. p. 265. ed. Daviſ. Schol. ad Ariſtoph. ad Nub. 508.

[m] Herodot. l. 1. c. 52. Apuleius, tom. 2, p. 689. Pauſanias, p. 84.

[n] According to Bos, p. 97.

[o] Bos, p. 98. Pliny, v. 29. Mela, I. 17. 4.

Amphiſſa

Amphiſſa in Phocis[q]; Geryon near Patavium[r]. Now all theſe oracular gods, as is evident at firſt ſight, were no other than dead men and women deified[s]. And ſuch we muſt pronounce all the other oracular divinities to have been, till ſome clear examples to the contrary are produced, which has not yet been done. The Augilites, who had no other gods but the ghoſts of men, conſulted them as oracles[t].

The heathen oracles were ſet up at *ſepulchres*, and in *temples*, which are only another name for ſepulchral monuments erected in honour of the dead. Their ghoſts, therefore, were certainly the deities conſulted in theſe places. And, as oracles were ſet up in all the ancient nations, and were univerſally[u] con-

[q] Pauſanias, l. 10. p. 896.

[r] Sueton. Tiber. c. 14.

[s] See Apuleius, ubi ſupra; and Maxim. Tyr. Diſſert. 26. p. 265.

[t] P. Mela, cited above, p. 97. note [p].

[u] Πασαι αι πολεις και παντα τα εθνη δια μαντικης επερωτωσι τους θεους, τι τε χρη, και τι μη χρη, ποιειν. Xenophon, Sympoſ. p. 163. Oper. V. 5. ed. Wells.

ſulted, on all occaſions of importance, both by thoſe who had the direction of the public concerns and by private perſons, and were alſo accompanied with ſacrifices*, luſtrations, and other religious ceremonies, they afford full proof of the very extenſive worſhip of human ſpirits in the heathen world.

If, notwithſtanding all the evidence of this point hitherto produced, whether from teſtimony or from facts, it ſhould ſtill appear incredible that dead men and women ſhould be generally worſhipped as gods, even in nations celebrated for their wiſdom and learning, I might in ſome meaſure remove this prejudice, by ſhewing upon what plauſible pretences that worſhip was founded. But the grounds and reaſons of it are foreign from my preſent deſign. I would only obſerve,

* With human ſacrifices, according to Servius on Virg. Æn. VI. 107. Quæ ſine hominis occiſione non fiebant.

VIII.

VIII. That the remains of it at this day, amongſt many profeſſed Chriſtians, give credibility to the exiſtence of it in former times amongſt the Heathens. It is certain that the worſhip of the dead ſtill prevails, and has long prevailed, amongſt the former, in the ſame manner it did amongſt the latter.

Some of the Gentile converts carried meat, bread, and wine, to the ſepulchres of the martyrs[x], as they had been accuſtomed to do to the manes of their anceſtors before their converſion[y].

As the Gentiles offered up prayers to the dead at their ſepulchres[z]; in like manner, according to Euſebius, Chriſtians went to the tombs of the champions of true religion, and *made their prayers*

[x] See Auſtin, (l. 8. c. 27. de Civ. Dei, & l. vi. Confeſſ. c. 2.) Illi enim ad ſepulchra martyrum epulas deferebant, pultem, panem, et vinum. Guther de Jure Manium, l. 2. c. 12.

[y] As to the heathen cuſtom, ſee Ovid's Faſti, l. 2. v. 533-540.

[z] Adde preces poſitis et ſua verba focis. Id. ib. v. 542.

at them, and honoured their bleſſed ſouls[a]; believing them to have power to avert evils from mankind, and to beſtow bleſſings upon them[b]: a power which the Gentiles aſcribed to thoſe gods who had been men.

The ſepulchres of ſaints and martyrs have been converted by Chriſtians into churches, juſt as the heathen ſepulchres were into temples. Altars, annual feſtivals, and other religious rites, have been inſtituted to dead men, as well by many who live under the Goſpel[c] as by the more ancient idolaters, who were ſtrangers to it. The worſhip of images is as familiar to papiſts as it ever was to the Gentiles, and apologized for by both upon the ſame grounds. By both alſo their gods are carried about in ſhrines,

[a] Euſeb. Præp. Ev. l. 13. c. 11. p. 663.

[b] Mede, p. 641, 643. Newton on Daniel, c. 14. p. 215. Middleton's Letters, prefatory Diſc. p. 51.

[c] Middleton's Letters from Rome, prefatory Diſcourſe, p. 25. Newton on Dan. ch. 14.

and

and thought to be preſent in every image and every edifice erected to their honour. The abſurdity of the papiſts is more glaring than that of the Pagans, becauſe they believe that the whole *bodily* preſence of Chriſt is in ten thouſand different places in the ſame inſtant of time, under the appearance of bread and wine.

The Papiſts dignify their ſaints with divine titles, as the pagans did their worthies[d]. Both aſſign to their deities the ſame offices, conſidering them as the guardians of towns, cities, and countries, as preſidents over all the objects of nature, and over the various occupations of human life[e].

[d] If the emperor Domitian ſtyled himſelf LORD and GOD, as was obſerved above, p. 275. note [e]; ſo is the pope called GOD, the SUPREME DEITY on earth, and our LORD GOD. Chandler's Account of a Conference in Nicolas-lane, 1734. The Papiſts ſometimes plead that they only call their ſaints *divi*, not *dii*. But theſe are equivalent terms. Servius on Virg. Æn. XII. 139.

[e] See Middleton's Letters, p. 153, 178. Preſat. Diſc. p. 51.

If, amongſt the Heathens, ſome goddeſſes were thought to have more power, or were in higher reputation in one place than in another; as Juno at Argos[f], for example; it is juſt the ſame amongſt Papiſts with the lady of Loretto. The virgin Mary holds the firſt rank amongſt all the popiſh ſaints, and ſeems indeed to be the principal object of their devotion. To her the ſtatelieſt churches and the faireſt altars are raiſed; to her the moſt frequent addreſſes are made, and the greateſt number of miracles aſcribed[g]. If the Heathens honoured a deified woman as *the mother of the gods*, and *queen of heaven*[h]; too many Chriſtians apply theſe titles to Mary, calling her

[f] Spence's Polymetis, p. 56.

[g] Sir Edward Sandy's Survey of Religion, p. 4, 5, 6.

[h] The regent of the moon was ſtyled queen of heaven; and the mother of the gods was Rhea, who is ſaid to have appeared to Themiſtocles in a dream. Plutarch. Vit. Themiſt. p. 127. A.

the

the queen of heaven[i], and *the mother of God.* And ſhe delights to be worſhipped under different titles[k], juſt as the Heathen deities did[l].

Demon-worſhip was thought to be juſtified amongſt the Heathens by the oſtentation of oracles, the cure of diſeaſes, and other miracles[m]. Herein they were imitated by Chriſtians, who pretended, that the miracles performed in the times of Chriſt and his apoſtles were renewed at the ſepulchres of the mar-

[i] Lipſius addreſſes Mary in the following terms. *O goddeſs! thou art the queen of heaven, of the ſea, and of the earth.* Lipſ. Oper. p. 1288. Teniſon of Idolatry, p. 290. Epiphanius ſays of Chriſtians in his time, *They made a goddeſs of the virgin, and offered a cake unto her as the queen of heaven.* Mede, p. 636.

[k] Chiſhul ſays, (Travels, p. 135, 6.) The virgin is not invoked under the ſame character in all places and on all occaſions, but —— is ſplit into ſo many diſtinct objects of worſhip; as the lady de Victoria, &c. She has numerous titles, (comp. p. 172, 173.) probably according to her diſtinct offices.

[l] On the polyonomy of the heathen gods, ſee Selden, Prolegom. c. 3. ****** 5. Sched. de Diis German. p. 87, 89, 175.

[m] Mede, p. 680, 681. Newton, p. 211.

tyrs[n]. A miraculous power was attributed to their dead bodies, to their bones, and other reliques[o].

It was not without reaſon, therefore, that the gentile philoſophers long ago reproached Chriſtians with introducing new gods, ſuch as were taken from amongſt men[p]. Nay, Theodoret boaſts that *God had brought his dead* (viz. the martyrs) *into the place* (the temples) *of the heathen gods. For, inſtead of the feaſts of Jupiter and Bacchus, are now celebrated the feſtivals of Peter and Paul, — and of the holy martyrs*[q]. If the Gentiles *ſerved the creature, paſſing over the creator*[r], the papiſts, (I ſpeak not of individuals,) notwithſtanding ſome verbal ac-

[n] Mede, ubi ſupra; and Middleton's Free Enquiry, p. 130. et ſeq. As to popiſh miracles, ſee Middleton's Prefatory Diſcourſe to his Letters from Rome, p. 29. et ſeq.

[o] Newton on Daniel, p. 208. et ſeq.

[p] Eunapius, Vit. Philoſoph. p. 76. See Julian ap. Cyril. in Newton. p. 208.

[q] Theodoret, l. 8. ap. Mede, p. 642.

[r] Παρα τον κτισαντα. Rom. i. 21. Beza in loc.

knowledgements

knowledgements of him, do very much conceal him from public view, by directing the attention of the people to many other objects of religious worſhip, by aſſociating with him the virgin Mary and other ſaints[s], and by making the moſt diſhonourable repreſentations of him in the pictures with which their ſacred edifices are adorned. The figure of the ever-adorable and incomprehenſible Jehovah, who inhabits eternity and fills immenſity, is generally that of an *old man*; and, in ſome places, he has upon him *a night-gown and cap*[t]. In the ſeveral foregoing particulars, and many more that might be mentioned, there is a ſtriking reſemblance between the idolatry of Papiſts and Pagans. The former *know* that the objects of their worſhip had been men, juſt as the latter

[s] In the town of Znaim, in Moravia, there is an image of the virgin, erected on a fair pillar, with this inſcription: *Laus Deo, Mariæque virgini, ſanctiſque ſuis.* Chiſhul's Travels, p. 131.

[t] Id. ib. p. 116.

did.

did. Both perform their worſhip in the very ſame places, *on the high-ways, in groves, on mountains*[a], and *at ſepulchres*. Let us now briefly conſider, how far the practice of the worſhip of dead men, in a large part of the chriſtian church, proves the prior exiſtence of it in the heathen world.

Every reſemblance between the cuſtoms, whether civil or religious, of different nations, does not, I acknowledge, neceſſarily argue imitation. A conſiderable reſemblance has been diſcovered between the cuſtoms of different people who have had no intercourſe with one another; and, where it is not purely accidental, may be accounted for by ſome principles in human nature common to all. Let it then be ſuppoſed, what, however, cannot be granted, that the conformity between popery and paganiſm, in the ſeveral particulars ſtated above, and in a hundred others that have

[a] Middleton's Letters, p. 184, 185.

been

been omitted, may be thus accounted for; it will ſtill ſerve to ſhew, that the ſame ſpecies of idolatry, practiſed in a great part of the chriſtian world, might, and probably did, prevail in the heathen world. To whatever common principles you chooſe to aſcribe it's prevalence in both, they were likely to operate more ſtrongly in the latter than in the former: for Chriſtianity ſo clearly and pathetically repreſents God as the only proper object of religious worſhip, that it is even hard to conceive how the profeſſors of this religion ſhould join any others with him. At the ſame time it gives us ſuch a view of the ſtate of the dead[y] as overturns the very foundation of all the devotion which has been paid them. Nay, it particularly warns us againſt this ſpecies of idolatry, and brands it as an apoſtacy from the chriſtian faith[z]. Theſe conſiderations are well adapted to preſerve the profeſſors of the

[y] Diſſert. on Mir. p. 161 *et ſeq.* [z] 1 Tim. iv. 1.

Goſpel

Goſpel from all idolatry, more eſpecially from the worſhip of the dead; and has actually produced this effect on multitudes both in ancient and modern times, though not on all. Now if reaſon, even when aided by revelation, could not check the ſuppoſed natural propenſity to the worſhip of dead men; it cannot be imagined that reaſon alone could do it. Every natural principle or bias will operate with the greateſt force where there are the feweſt and the weakeſt powers of reſiſtance.

But the conformity between paganiſm and popery, with reſpect to the worſhip of the dead, holds in ſo many particulars, and ſuch as have manifeſtly no foundation in any appearance of reaſon, or bias of nature, that it cannot be accounted for without ſuppoſing that Chriſtians copied from the Heathens. Beſides, we learn from hiſtory, what we might have preſumed to be true from a knowledge of human nature, that the heathen

heathen as well as the jewiſh converts to Chriſtianity retained ſtrong prejudices in favour of many of the principles in which they had been educated. Of this there can be no ſtronger proof than a fact taken notice of above[r], the continuance of the cuſtom of offering human victims amongſt the Chriſtians in Gaul. From hiſtory we likewiſe learn, that many paſtors of the church, who were employed in bringing men over to the profeſſion of the Goſpel, though they themſelves might have juſt conceptions of it, condeſcended too far to the prejudices of others. They could not ſtop the current of ſuperſtition, and therefore endeavoured to direct it into a new channel; and were ſure hereby to add to the wealth and grandeur of the church, though at the ſame time they robbed it of it's purity and true glory. The miſſionaries of Ireland and England, not

[r] P. 108. note [s]. Procopius (l. ii. de Bello Gothico.) memorat Francos etiam Chriſtum colentes ad ſuum ævum ſacrificaſſe homines. Tomaſin. de Donariis veterum, c. 40.

being

being able to withdraw the people from paying a kind of adoration to ſtones and barrows erected to the dead[z], cut croſſes on the former, and dedicated the latter to chriſtian ſaints; and then allowed the ſuperſtition. Theſe criminal compliances had been unneceſſary, had not this ſuperſtition taken faſt hold of the minds of the people before they became acquainted with Chriſtianity. We may therefore juſtly conclude, that the worſhip of dead men, in countries called chriſtian, is a remnant of the pagan idolatry*, and a demonſtration of it's having exiſted in general credit prior to the coming of Chriſt, and even prevailed more before this period than it has done ſince.

Let us weigh the ſeveral facts that have been ſtated in this ſection, and ſee what is the moſt natural concluſion from them. The heathen gods were worſhipped at places of ſepulture or at ho-

[z] Borlaſe's Antiq. of Cornw. p. 222, 223.

* See Middleton's Letters from Rome, p. 225. *f.*

norary

norary tombs: they were repreſented by images in human form: the gifts preſented to them were adapted to the apprehended nature of human ſpirits, and the ceremonies with which they were honoured reſpected their former mortal condition: and oracles, thoſe boaſted proofs of a divine fore-knowledge, were referred to the manes of the dead. Theſe facts clearly point to deceaſed mortals as the objects of pagan worſhip. We are even eye-witneſſes of the actual exiſtence of a ſimilar worſhip in the chriſtian church, which, we know, was introduced there by the converts from the heathen religion. And, though the prieſts endeavoured to conceal the mortal origin of their principal gods, yet they entruſted the ſecret with ſo many, that it was at laſt openly divulged.

I ſhall offer no more proofs of the worſhip of human ſpirits in this place. Some farther illuſtrations of it may occur in examining the grounds and reaſons

ſons of the Heathens deifying both the world and the ſouls of men. I ſhall now conclude with a brief recapitulation of what has been already advanced.

That gods, who had their original here below, were worſhipped in *moſt* of the heathen nations commonly ſtyled barbarous [a], and in *all* thoſe poliſhed by learning [b], has been proved, by an induction of particulars, upon the teſtimony of the Pagans themſelves, who certainly beſt knew what the objects of their worſhip were.

Beſides the proofs of this point, which reſpect particular nations, others of a more general nature were produced, which equally reſpect all the learned nations, and all others which had adopted their ſyſtem of theology. The proofs were drawn from two ſources: from the diſtinct teſtimonies of the heathen poets, philoſophers, and hiſtorians, and of the

[a] Ch. I. ſect. 1, 2. [b] Ch. II.

chriſtian

ings of a ſuperior ſpecies, a celeſtial race, who had only condeſcended to viſit this lower world, in the form of men and women, for a time. Nevertheleſs, perſons of underſtanding ſaw through the deluſion, and proved, from the hiſtory of their birth and burial, (what the prieſts themſelves diſcloſed, to thoſe initiated into the greater myſteries, under the ſeal of ſecrecy,) that even theſe gods of the firſt claſs were of human deſcent[o]. The Heathens not only declare, in general terms, that all their gods had no higher original, but affirm that this was the caſe in particular with reſpect to their *greateſt gods*, and the objects of their moſt auguſt ceremonies[p].

In examining the evidence of the human origin of the national gods, I conſidered the objections that have been raiſed againſt it by ſeveral writers as they came in the way, and particularly thoſe urged

[o] P. 255, 458-461.

[p] Above, p. 135, 183, 257 267, 276, 277, 308.

by Dr. Blackwell and Mr. Bryant. The former was a learned and ingenious, but not always a correct, writer. And his Letters on Mythology are rather a ſtudied apology for paganiſm than an impartial repreſentation of it. He was of opinion, that the gods of the *greater nations* (in which he muſt include the *learned* ones) were the deified parts and powers of the univerſe. I have therefore largely ſhewn that the gods of theſe nations were deified mortals. His objections are retailed by a late writer[q] as his own, and have been diſtinctly examined[r]. With regard to Mr. Bryant, it is impoſſible

[q] Mr. Fell.

[r] In ch. I. ſect. 1. and other places, Mr. Fell attempted to refute that part of the Diſſertation on Miracles which was intended to prove the following propoſition, viz. "that *ſuch* demons, as were *the more immediate objects of the eſtabliſhed worſhip* amongſt the "ancient nations, particularly the Egyptians, Greeks, "and Romans, were ſuch departed human ſpirits as "were believed to become demons." Above, p. 4, 5. This propoſition is fully confirmed by what has been offered

impoſſible to forbear doing juſtice to his abilities, his learning, his candour, and

fered in the preceding ſheets. Let us conſider whether Mr. Fell has ſucceeded in his attempt to refute it.

1. Inſtead of informing his readers, that my deſign profeſſedly was to prove the truth of this propoſition, (Diſſ. Mir. p. 183, 231.) he has, on the contrary, maimed and diſguiſed it, ſo as to render it impoſſible for any one to divine what the Diſſertation aimed at on this ſubject, and to lead them to think it's aim was different from what it really was. Above, p. 11–18.

2. The fore-mentioned propoſition was ſupported by facts and teſtimonies. How has the gentleman anſwered theſe arguments? by taking no notice at all of the argument from facts, and overlooking the principal teſtimonies, particularly thoſe of the early Chriſtians and of the philoſophers, though the latter, in his own account, were the moſt competent witneſſes. Above, p. 301, 302. But, if he did not overturn the proofs of the propoſition, nor even examine the principal of them, yet it may be thought that he was able to urge ſome plauſible objections againſt it. This leads me to obſerve,

3. That his objections are foreign from the purpoſe. The propoſition reſpected *demons*, as contra-diſtinguiſhed from the *natural gods*. Above, p. 5. Our author, in anſwer, tells us that the latter were worſhipped; which they might be, and yet the propoſition be true. To refute it, he ſhould have ſhewn, that ſuch demons as it deſcribes were beings originally ſuperior to the human race: but he has contented himſelf with tranſcribing,

from

zeal to ſupport Chriſtianity. His knowledge of antiquity rendered him fully

from thoſe authors who wrote againſt Dr. Sykes, paſſages in which the ancients ſpeak of demons that do *not* come under this deſcription. The propoſition reſpects ſuch demons as were the *objects of the eſtabliſhed worſhip*, which the gentleman hoped to refute by telling us, that the philoſophers aſſerted a ſuperior order of demons, though the latter were not the objects of the eſtabliſhed worſhip, and though the philoſophers themſelves bear teſtimony to the humanity of thoſe who were.* It is juſt the ſame when he is treating the ſubject of demoniacal poſſeſſion. Inſtead of ſhewing that thoſe demons, *to whom poſſeſſions were referred*, were a higher order of beings than human ſpirits, *(of which he has not produced one ſingle example,)* he only labours to prove, (what I had repeatedly allowed, though, from his manner of writing, his readers would imagine the contrary,) that ſome did aſſert this higher order of demons, to whom, however, poſſeſſions were never referred. The gentleman ſucceeds *where he has no adverſary*. Farther, the demons of the *learned* nations were the only ſubject of the propoſition; the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, being mentioned as the moſt proper ſpecimens of the reſt. Above, p. 9, 10. To this the gentleman oppoſes the caſe of the *barbarous* nations, which, according to him, worſhipped only the natural gods; and conſequently acknowledged no demons at all, in the reſtrained ſenſe of that word in the propoſition. Ib. p. 10, 23;

* Above, p. 298, et ſeq.

chriſtian Fathers [c]; and from certain facts, which cannot be controverted, and yet cannot be accounted for but upon the ſuppoſition of the truth of thoſe teſtimonies [d]. The teſtimonies and the facts mutually illuſtrate and confirm each other; and both, eſpecially when taken together, fully demonſtrate the general prevalence of the worſhip of human ſpirits in the ancient heathen world: which is the point I undertook to eſtabliſh.

But the arguments, which have carried us ſo far, go farther, and prove, not only that human ſpirits were generally worſhipped amongſt the Heathens, but that ſuch ſpirits *alone*, or *with few exceptions*, were, in the nations with which we are beſt acquainted, the direct and immediate objects of the eſtabliſhed worſhip; which conſiſted in having ſtatues, temples, altars, prieſts, ſacrifices, feſtivals, games, and numerous ceremonies, dedicated to them by public de-

[c] Ch. III. ſect. 1. [d] Ch. III. ſect. 2.

crees. In the nations here alluded to, idolatry was digeſted into *an artificial ſyſtem*; which might indeed be built upon the ſuppoſition of there being two ſorts of gods, the *natural* and the *human*. Nevertheleſs, the latter, being thought to be intruſted with the government of the world, and more eſpecially of human affairs, became the grand objects of mens hopes, and fears, and dependence, and engroſſed, as it were, the public devotion. If ſome of theſe *hero*-gods were conſidered, by thoſe inſtructed in the ſecret doctrine, as ſymbols of the *natural*, yet the *civil* theology preſented the former to the people as being themſelves true and real divinities, not as ſymbols and repreſentatives of any other[e]. Accordingly the Heathens[f], the early Chriſtians[g], and to theſe we

[e] Above, p. 412-415.

[f] P. 223, 224, 255, 256, 257, 263-267, 277.

[g] P. 257, 344-347.

may

may add the ancient Jews[h], and the ſacred writers themſelves[i], agree in repreſenting *all* the gods of paganiſm as deceaſed mortals. This is certainly true, in general, with reſpect to the objects of national worſhip. Some, who would not undertake to affirm there were no exceptions, confeſſed that it was difficult to find any[k]; and others thought that there were none[l]. It muſt be obſerved, farther, that the argument from the facts before mentioned, particularly from the repreſentation of the gods by images, and the places and rites of their worſhip, extends as far as the fore-cited teſtimonies, and equally with

[h] In their greek verſion of Pſ. xcv. 5. we read, Παντες οι θεοι των εθνων δαιμονια. ALL *the gods of the Heathen are demons*, that is, men who after their deaths were ſuppoſed to become demons or deities. Demons here cannot denote apoſtate angels; becauſe, in this ſenſe of the word, the aſſertion is palpably falſe.

[i] The Scripture repreſents the heathen gods as *dead men*, and conſequently as nothing more than ſuch, becauſe it does not allow their real deification after their deaths. Diſſert. on Mir. p. 197. Above, p. 13.

[k] Above, p. 257. [l] Ib. p. 265, 344-347.

them ſerve to ſhew that all the heathen gods had once been men; which is a full vindication of the opinion I had expreſſed of them in the ſame terms.* Nevertheleſs, a late writer declares no opinion can be more erroneous than this, and even that all the world *knew* the heathen gods had never been men[m].

The Gentiles diſtinguiſhed the gods whom the laws commanded them to worſhip into two claſſes: the gods of the higher, and the lower, order[n]. The latter were by all known and acknowledged to be ſuch as were natives of the earth, but believed to be advanced to heaven. As to the former, the prieſts diſcouraged all inquiry into their origin; and ſometimes pretended that they were be-

* Above, p. 12, 13, 14.

[m] Fell, p. 30, 110.

[n] *Dii majorum, et minorum, gentium.* The word *gentium* is uſed here as it is in the following paſſage of Cicero: *Cleanthes, qui quaſi majorum eſt gentium Stoicus.* Academ. II. 41. It has always been argued from in the preceding ſheets in it's true ſenſe; though, in p. 209, it is, through mere inadvertence, rendered *nations.*

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23. In a word, all his objections are quite foreign from the purpoſe, or elſe,

4. They are not founded in fact. His language manifeſtly implies that the philoſophers were on his ſide, though the contrary has been demonſtrated. Above, p. 300-308. He ſtrongly inſinuates that I had *excluded* their teſtimonies, notwithſtanding I had appealed to, and produced, them. Ib. p. 301. note [z]. In contradiction to all the foregoing teſtimonies, he maintains that *hero-gods were either rejected or not known, even in the days of Plato, by the greateſt part of the world*; and, to give ſome colour to his aſſertion, he ſubſtitutes the word *moſt* in the room of *many*, and thus corrupts, as well as groſſly miſinterprets, this philoſopher. Differt. on Mir. p. 173, note [f]. Fell, p. 9. Above, p. 10, 11, 131. In moſt of thoſe very nations, in which he affirms divine honours were not paid to deceaſed heroes, human ſpirits were actually worſhipped. Above, ch. I. ſect. 1. p. 93, et paſſim. Sect. 2. p. 128. ch. II. ſect. 1 and 2. In ſome as the *greateſt*. Ib. p. 33, 183. In others, as the *only* gods. Ib. p. 32, 93. According to his arithmetic, the natural gods were the *greateſt part* of the heathen deities, contrary to the cleareſt evidence. Above, p. 19, 267-272. In order to ſerve his purpoſe, he confounds the Belus, ſpoken of by Beroſus, with the Creator of heaven and earth, notwithſtanding Beroſus himſelf tells us, Belus's head was twice cut off. Above, p. 188-190. He makes the Phenicians and Egyptians

to

Heathens themſelves, their gods were deified

to be worſhippers only of phyſical beings, by mutilating his author, who declares in the moſt unequivocal terms, and in the very place appealed to, that they had gods both *mortal* and *immortal*, and that the former were accounted the *greateſt gods*, though the latter were the only gods in their own natural right. Fell, p. 31. Above, p. 133, et ſeq. The gentleman has frequent recourſe to ſuch mutilations. That complained of above, p. 11, 12. is a juſt ſpecimen of his uſual manner of quoting my writings. He appeals to Herodotus to prove, that "the Getes eſteemed the heavens to be the only deity," though this very hiſtorian (in agreement with all others) affirms, that they worſhipped Zamolxis. Nay, Herodotus ſays, that the Getes *believed there was no other god but theirs*. Above, p. 30-34. According to Mr. Fell, "Plutarch was *very careful* never to attribute this opinion" (viz. That the gods of Egypt had been men) "to *the Egyptian prieſts*;" and yet this ſame Plutarch declares, the *prieſts* did affirm, that the *bodies of their gods, except ſuch as were incorruptible and immortal, lay buried with them*." Above, p. 165, 166. Thus, Mr. Fell, notwithſtanding his declaration to the contrary, Introduction, p. viii. does *impute to authors opinions they never maintained*, and even ſuch as they clearly contradict or overturn. See above, p. 133, et ſeq. and p. 144, 177, note [f]. No wonder the gentleman is rather ſparing of his citations. What he did not know himſelf, he imagined others were equally ignorant of. He ſpeaks as if no proof could be produced

deified mortals[s]. But this conceſſion, and other conceſſions, together with his relying more on etymological deductions than

ced of the humanity of *Oſiris*, (above, p. 169, note [k],) or of the worſhip of a man under the name of *Bel*, ib. p. 196, note [l]; and as if there were no deciſive evidence of mens paying religious worſhip to a human ſpirit under the term *Jupiter*, p. 246. in a note; though proof of the humanity of Oſiris was placed before him, ſee above, p. 169, and he ſhould have known that there was deciſive evidence of the humanity both of Bel and of Jupiter. He confounds the Jupiter of the temples with that of the philoſophers. Ib. p. 298–300. With reſpect to Jupiter, ſee alſo p. 237. He ſpeaks of the doctrine of Euhemerus as that of an *individual*, though it had ſpread throughout the world. Ib. p. 235, 236. It is not of one or two particular branches of his ſubject that he was ignorant, but of the whole: witneſs his general declarations concerning the heathen gods. Ib. p. 484. But it is not juſtifiable to affirm any thing as a fact, while we are ignorant whether it be true or falſe. Much leſs is it allowable to affirm what is clearly and certainly falſe, in ſuch aſſured language as implies our knowing it to be certainly true. See ib. p. 205, 206. Yet this is his uſual ſtyle of writing. He repreſents the groſſeſt errors as certain and evident truths. "There "can be *no doubt* but that the Greeks themſelves have "declared, that the Egyptians never worſhipped ſuch "gods as had been men." Ib. p. 177, note [f]. He ſpeaks

[s] Above, p. 320.

than on the concurring teſtimonies of all ages, ſeem to me inſuperable difficulties upon his ſide of the queſtion. On whoſe ſide the weight of evidence preponderates is a matter that muſt be left to the judgement of the reader.

ſpeaks of it as a matter "*univerſally known*, that the "Egyptians never paid any religious honours to hero-"gods," in expreſs contradiction to the *Greeks themſelves*, as well as to the united teſtimonies of other heathen and of chriſtian writers. Ib. p. 183, note [i]. See another example, p. 237, note [k]. He even affirms that "all "the world *knew* the heathen gods had *never* been "men." Fell's Demon. p. 110.—If the reader deſires to ſee what ungenerous methods this writer uſes to ſupport his groundleſs accuſations, he may turn to p. 353, note [d], in the preceding ſheets.

The foregoing inſtances, to which more might be added, are ſufficient to ſhew what opinion we are to form of Mr. Fell, as a writer, even upon the ſubject which he has been allowed to handle better than any other. And, as the other writers, whom he hath miſrepreſented or miſunderſtood, are not chargeable with obſcurity, I hope it is not owing to any ſuch cauſe that he has given a falſe or erroneous account of my ſentiments on almoſt every article of importance.

THE END.

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